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ABSTRACT

The first of two volumes, this book consists of 17 studies of children and families. Selections are intended to provide a representative sample of current research, including case studies and less formal reports. Volume I is divided into four sections. Part One considers the family as an enduring social unit. Families in hard times, Chicano families, the transmission of parental values, preparation for childbirth and parenting, family styles of interacting, and family and friendship in old age are explored. Part Two focuses on marriage and divorce. Factors sustaining marriage, factors in adjustment to divorce, improvements in communication in marriage, and marriages that endure are discussed. Part Three consists of three articles concerned with parents and children. Topics include the role of parents as leaders in providing control and discipline, working couples as parents, depression among low income women, and stepfathers as parents. Part Four reports on families and the outside world. Work and family in relation to married men and married women, family adjustment to unemployment, and the Native American family in urban settings are discussed. (Abstracts of all articles in this volume are included in the companion volume.) (Author/RH)

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families today

Volume I

a research sampler on families and children

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families today

Volume I

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NIMH Science Monographs 1

Eunice Corfman, Editor, NIMH

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families today

Volume I

a research sampler on families and children

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FOREWORD

The formative effects of family life are so pervasive that it is often a challenge to study them objectively. Moreover, very little happens that does not influence family life, since the family is so prominent and ubiquitous a feature of every culture. In this constant interplay of forming and being formed, the family over time and in different societies nonetheless exhibits many enduring characteristics, some well known, others less commonly recognized. It is these characteristics of the family–and their extraordinary role in mental health–that are the subject of this book.

The family gives each newborn its primary nurturing environment, and as time passes, is each child's primary socializing agent, shaping its capacity for personal relations, interpreting and mediating the vast and complex outside world. Beyond these recognized functions we largely take for granted, the family exerts other powerful influences. It can provide us with a continuity of identity throughout our lives–a present network of relatedness, roots into the past, and branches to the future. It is the platform for each member's stages of growth and the intimate arena for learning to recognize and adjust to these stages in others. It has an internal dynamic quality, its functions changing over time according to its members' needs and enduring long after its members have dispersed. Externally, the family affects other people and institutions, both as the family unit collectively engages with the world and as its members sally forth, imprinted by their family ways. And the idea of family itself has been extended, providing a unifying function for new combinations of people who choose to call themselves a family.

The centrality and significance of these functions, as well as the far-reaching personal and societal damage of their malfunction, provide the major rationale for the commitment by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) to family-related research, services, training and information activities. That commitment has grown in recent years. We should be duly wary of fiscal statistics about a concept as elastic as the family and doubly so when, even using arbitrarily standardized definitions, calculations must be extrapolated from crosscutting categories designed for different purposes. Still, there is an evident growth in the NIMH commitment visible over the last several years. One source calculates for fiscal year 1976 140 projects directly related to family research and about another 180 indirectly related. In fiscal year 1978 conservative estimates count about 190 projects directly related to family research for a total of about $16 million. Perhaps another 200 projects are indirectly related, in whole or part.

Many of the NIMH research projects are devoted to investigating such diverse general areas as family transmission of mental disorders, changes in family structure and function, social support systems of families, development of family-related skills and coping strategies, or the impact of public policies on families. Others are for training mental health professionals and paraprofessionals in family counseling, family psychotherapy, or primary prevention in family contexts. Still others strengthen family-related services in community mental health centers.

Though by no means the only Federal agency with a mandate and responsibility to the family, the NIMH by one estimate supports considerably more research focused directly on the family than does any other Federal agency and is second only to Federal education agencies in research indirectly focused on the family. The NIMH family research reflects the contributions of a number of different disciplines, as well as clinical research, training, services, and information to families from the mental health professions, to teach or enhance coping abilities in the face of family and external stresses and to treat mental health problems.

A number of the concerns of the NIMH are reflected in this volume, which is intended as a resource document for those seeking a sampler of the current state-of-the-art in areas of family research. The research reported is not exhaustive, but it is indicative of the breadth of subject matter it touches on in the field. Although each report carefully indicates what is not yet known and the next steps for future research, the cumulative effect all together is of a substantial body of findings with important implications for programs in behalf of the American family.

In this public document, it is worth remembering that the process of research is now largely underwritten by public money, spent in the people's trust. Full value should somehow come back to them. This volume helps fulfill an obligation of the NIMH to do this by disseminating research progress and findings not only to professionals in the field, but to the public at large. This is the first of a new NIMH science monograph series that will continue to help fulfill our obligation to publish results as they develop from major areas of concern in the domain of mental health.

Herbert Pardes, M.D.
Director
National Institute of Mental Health

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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Author: Eunice Corfman, NIMH

The investigations and reviews reported here attest to both the range and limits of current family and child research. Topics are wide-ranging, research approaches and designs are varied to suit different purposes, and techniques are often ingenious. On the other hand, one limit, at least until recently, has been that most research was concerned with problems. For every 100 studies investigating what factors make a family fall apart, only 1 investigates what factors help it to endure. Problems seem to dignify, justify, redeem research. Tolstoi claimed that happy families are all alike and hence, by implication, less interesting. But problems often are shaped by the boundaries of discomfort they inflict and thus are easier to define and study than is the surrounding ground of satisfaction or content. Consequently, early draft outlines for the volume were overloaded with studies in the direction of heavy trouble and bad times. If there is distortion in this present selection, it is in the other direction, the result of trying to restore a balance.

The investigations here also suggest what research can do and also what it should *not* be expected to do. To take the latter first, research should rarely be expected to supply definitive answers. It must pick a few variables from an artificially isolated context and provisionally generalize from this narrowness. Similarly, research should not be expected to capture the ineffable or unique—those parts of life which we all recognize, share, and are grateful for, but which are not public, replicable, quantifiable. Nevertheless, in its patient, doughty way research can give us piecemeal accretions of knowledge that gradually enlarge our understanding in a way better than many modes of investigation, because its procedures are more universally conceded as binding on our reason. In this modest way we are enabled to help ourselves.

There are those who feel research insights can be too modest for the price, as in "My Aunt Fanny knew *that* 50 years ago and didn't have to spend a half million dollars to find out." Research can be expensive and sometimes ends by restating what seems obvious, although sometimes more precisely. On the other hand, Aunt Fanny's success often rested on knowing contradictories and incompatibles, so that she could not help but be right—hence her reputation for infallibility. She knew that many hands make light labor and that too many cooks spoil the broth, so whether Thanksgiving dinner was a triumph or disaster, she knew why.

The work of investigators in this volume is the first step of a process, still insufficiently effective, that links our understanding to helping ourselves. Investigators mine the world around us for nuggets called "findings" to be assayed. Ostensibly, findings make their way to market by a step recently labeled "technology transfer" through vehicles such as this volume. Sometimes such vehicles reach people interested and able to absorb, reflect, and act cogently on what they learn, as citizens, administrators, clinicians, educators, legislators.

Changes are occurring in family life in our time. To mention only one portentous turnabout: In only 27.3 percent of all American families is the husband now the single breadwinner; in 48.4 percent of families both husband and wife have jobs (Bureau of Labor Statistics, March 1978). These figures represent large changes in traditional roles and arrangements at home and work and presage profound alterations in our national experience. Further, we have become aware that policies and programs initiated to respond to such changes have their own effects, not always anticipated, lately giving rise to a call for lawmakers to require "family impact" assessments of proposed remedial legislation on the model of environmental-impact analyses. This approach implies a seasoned withdrawal from grand designs in social engineering and a cautionary reluctance to commit scarce resources to projects that may in the long run precipitate more troubles than their short-run benefits. A necessary element to assessing impact is research to document both the large and myriad family-related changes taking place and the effects of proposed interventions. We need to know where we are, what we yet need to know, what is tolerably clear that we can and ought to do. Toward these ends this volume has been prepared.

The volume is divided into eight sections that view families and children in different aspects. The sections are not mutually exclusive; some reports would be as apt in other sections as where they appear. The groupings are for convenience and as a guide to reader interest. The selections provide a representative sample of current research, though the choices emphatically should not imply that research omitted here would not have been equally representative or that this selection is exhaustive. Criteria for selection included how far the research reflected family and child aspects, how well the work and findings complemented other selections, as well as exemplariness of research purpose or design, and significance of findings. The objective has been to see the shape of a forest by viewing some indicative stands of trees.

The selections themselves were conceived and written for different purposes over a period of time, but almost all within the past 2 years and the majority specifically for this volume. Still, the variety of styles may be disconcerting and require some adjustment by readers. Many of the reports are case studies of the work of a particular investigator or team, designed to convey in clear, detailed prose a "science with warts" account of proceeding research—its intent, design, difficulties, findings, and significance. Readers initially put off by the accoutrements of these studies (citations, references, method preoccupations) are urged to try them anyway, for much care has gone into making them accessible not only to scientists in adjacent disciplines, to health professionals, and students, but also to the interested general reader. Other selections are less formal, and readers accustomed to scholarly trappings as indices of merit, reliability, and significance, are urged to try *them*, for similar care has gone into making them clear, respectful of complexity, and readable. Had selections been held to a single style for uniformity's sake, the range of topics would have been unnecessarily and unrepresentatively restricted.

THE FAMILY AS AN ENDURING UNIT

The first section brings together research that considers the family as an enduring unit. Glen Elder, Jr., has pointed out the importance of recognizing that families live in historical time. Changes at the societal level, particularly events such as economic depression and war, restrict or broaden options for each new generation. Studying families in historical context is like tracking the movement of people on a raft at sea—how much is due to their efforts and interactions, how much to the action of the sea? Elder is studying families who lived through the Great Depression of the thirties. These families took part in the Oakland Growth Study and the Berkeley Guidance Study, two of the longest and largest studies of human development ever done. The richness of the archives allows him to compare the effects of family adaptations to hard times on the Oakland children, who were adolescents, and the Berkeley children, who were dependent infants in 1929. He can also examine the sources of adaptive strength in some families and trace the process of change in families and individuals across generations up to 1970. Thus, Elder is helping to clarify the interplay of time and circumstance, on the one hand, with the characteristics of individuals and their families, on the other.

A different emphasis in assessing this interplay is used by Jaime Sena-Rivera in his three-generational study, novelistically rich and anecdotal, of four Mexican-American families. It reveals the strength and varieties of *La Familia Chicana*, a grouping of kin-integrated but independent nuclear households in four case studies of extended families. The subjects began as immigrants fleeing the 1910 Mexican Revolution and endured successive economic depressions, vacillation in U.S. immigration policy, and the long migration from Mexico to Texas to "Michiana," the midwestern industrial cities of Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana. The individual stories were told to interviewers whose research training, though rigorous, included empathy enhanced by sharing the same language and culture. Such interviews elicited, for example, the subtle shadings of support and dependency that women of the culture exhibit in preserving a cultural image of male dominance, despite the low social and economic status of their men. Their men show the peculiar frustrations of those who feel exploited by employers who know the worker will work steadily and for less because of his family commitment. The premise is that these families, painstakingly selected, located, and extensively interviewed, have parallels with other modified extended kin groups. The generational unfolding, of slowly Anglicized surnames amid continued nurtured kinships, of increasing out-marriages to non-Chicanos that are nevertheless brought within the centripetal force of the family, offers a multitude of intimate family detail against a panorama of social change.

Traits that appear to encourage the passing of similar values from parents to children, at least in our times, are explored by Lauren Langman and Richard Block, who introduce into the research literature the composite parental trait of "kvetchiness" (anger, complaining, irritability). In their study, parents high in personal warmth, low in kvetchiness, and sure of themselves are more likely to be effective in passing on their own values to their children.

Work of the next three investigators forms something of a triptych: Doris Entwisle's studies concern preparation for the first childbirth and a family; David Reiss has investigated and isolated different styles of family interaction; and Gregory Arling considers family and friendship networks in old age.

Birth of the first child often marks a basic alteration in the lives and relationship of a couple. Entwisle and her colleague Susan Doering have examined the significance of psychological and social factors and the relation between the emotional and medical aspects of pregnancy, birth, and the postpartum periods. For some couples in our time, giving birth is an event possessing enormous social and symbolic resonance, which calls for planning and preparation; yet sometimes the couple's rearing has included little experience in child care or acquaintance with the unrelenting cheerful generosity expected of parenthood.

The effects of preparation for childbirth, its perceived quality, and the adjustment subsequently required are topics of investigation. So also are other topical issues such as the effects of delivery medication, the steep rise in number of cesarean sections, the increase in use of midwives and homebirths, the phenomenon of infant bonding, and the integration of work and new motherhood.

Through tests of over 200 mostly middle-class families in a laboratory setting, Reiss has identified four types of family styles according to the different ways families solve common problems. He uses two measures: *configuration*, or the influence of the family on the complexity and subtlety of the individual member's solutions, and *coordination*, the amount and effectiveness of family consultation prior to making decisions. Some of these styles appear to be more effective than others in helping different family members to cope with large crises and smaller chronic hazards of life and to explore and grow. On the other hand, some family styles of interaction can be limiting to members; others so destructive they precipitate rebellion and family disintegration. Studying the family dynamics that determine how members are variously enhanced or undercut or bound together or separated reflects increased research interest in regarding the family as a basic unit of interaction larger than the individual. This interest is also reflected in family therapy. As sophistication in the dynamics of the individual psyche has become more widespread over the last decades, presumably making ourselves and those around us easier to understand if not to bear, so the next decades may increase our understanding of interpersonal dynamics, their effects, and how they shape us.

As more of us live to advanced ages, both the number and proportion of the elderly increase in our society, a circumstance that makes the contribution of social gerontologists such as Gregory Arling more timely. If "intimacy at a distance," that is, self-sufficiency and independence, but with family help when it's needed, is what most older people want in America, we have yet to specify the exact nature and means of achieving the formula. We do not yet know the appropriate mixes of support and independence, of meeting needs and encouraging reciprocity, of formal services and informal social networks. We do not yet know empirically, though Arling offers intriguing suggestive data, who are the most and least bereft of personal morale, or the factors that most contribute to that condition. Clearly such investigations will be a continuing task in the coming years. The idea of the family must include those who had one or are still part of one, though they may live alone.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

That research, at least until recently, has gravitated to disaster is nowhere better illustrated than in the proportion of studies investigating factors associated with successful marriages as compared with those investigating the causes, treatment, or effects of those that fail. In 1976, 1,830,000 divorces were recorded, and of marriages begun now, it is estimated one of three will end in divorce. These melancholy statistics, even when divorce is no-fault and by mutual agreement, mark a stunning amount of widespread pain identified in no manual of diseases or disorders. In responding to this problem, looking at what makes some marriages successful may be as helpful as finding ways to remedy or assuage the pain of marriage failure.

This section focuses somewhat arbitrarily, but for what were felt to be sufficient reasons, on husband and wife. By no means should this focus imply that children do not share the pain of unhappy marriages, separation, and divorce. The careful studies of, for example, Heatherington and Cox, and Wallerstein and Kelly, are providing a growing body of evidence of trauma visited on children by divorce, especially in the first year afterward.

Graham Spanier and his colleague Robert Lewis reviewed an extensive literature on factors in marital quality and stability as background for their separation and divorce studies, which distinguish two separate but related processes—the first dealing with the dissolution of a marriage and the second with establishing a new lifestyle. The first may be more painful, but the second appears more difficult. Spanier's studies also assess the very significant impact of the legal system on divorce adjustment.

Gary Birchler and his colleagues are devising ways to standardize the evaluation of happy and unhappy marriages through interviews, questionnaires and laboratory exercises, and developing ways to improve the communication and interaction between unhappy couples. Oddly, even in very happy marriages, evidence indicates we tend to treat our spouses with less skill and consideration than we do strangers. And in very unhappy marriages, even though the style of interaction may be destructive, most often the problem is not with either spouse but with the overlearned and embedded pattern of interaction itself. So that, happy, we can yet do better by the dear and only spouse we have and, unhappy, we can take hope that a pattern may be changed more easily than a person.

Most marriages survive. Clifford Swensen has examined couples over 55 and married more than 20 years. His findings of cohort differences in post- and preretired marriage relationships—for example, between couples married during the Depression and those during World War II—provide another reminder of the caution needed before we generalize time-specific studies. Even so, a common reason for the durability of some marriages, hard to remember *in medias res*, is that many problems are eventually outlived—money strains ease, children grow up, in-laws move, imperatives mellow—leaving only problems peculiar to the couple's individual relationship. Unfortunately, many durable marriages in later years have in common a decline in satisfaction in the marriage, and in the expression of love, unless the partners have grown in ego development beyond simple social conformity to their roles. Swensen comments on the process that carries ego development into the postconformist stage.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

"Parenting" is the new generic word for carrying out parent-like activities. It may have had to be invented to help preserve the identity of a concept currently wracked by two-way slippage in both connotation and denotation. The limits of a parent's expected responsibilities, prerogatives, status, and influence are narrowing both legally and culturally, while the expanded, bisexual word "parenting" is needed to denote what single parents do, which is to fill both mother and father roles, and what mothers and fathers do, when both of them fill work and family roles.

Uncertainty about what it is to be a parent, particularly a good one, is not unique to our time. In the *Meno* Socrates remarks to Anytus in effect that, if it were known what good parenting consisted of, then good, wise men like Themistocles would not have wastrel sons like Cleophantus. Nevertheless, Diana Baumrind distinguishes three parenting styles: *authoritarian*, where obedience is a virtue and preserving the traditional structure an end in itself; *authoritative*, where direction is rational and issue-oriented, parents set standards, enforce them firmly, but solicit children's views and value their independence; *permissive*, where parents are accepting, benign, affirming the child's impulses. Allowing that differences in sex and temperament of children will make parenting styles variously effective, conclusions from Baumrind's sample indicate that authoritative parents most encourage qualities such as social responsibility, independence, orientation to achieve, and vigor.

Three variants in the traditional model of a two-parent family with one breadwinner husband and one homeworker wife and mother are the family with two working parents, the family with a single parent, usually female, and the family with a stepfather or stepmother.

No established role models or traditional guidelines help the predominantly middle-class subjects of Laura Lein and her colleagues' Working Family Project. This multidisciplinary team is exploring the attitudes and decisions of working parents of small children on such matters as child care, division of housework, coordinating work with home life, and parenthood. The issue of maternal employment has a socially volatile potential not always readily visible in these often harassed parents who are providing for house and child care, unaware their actions may precipitate a social revolution, while their attitudes still faithfully reflect the traditional one breadwinner, one homemaker model. This small-scale intensive and intimate study is usefully compared to that of Hauenstein and Pleck, in the next section, who look at women and men, respectively, in their two roles of work and family.

Increasing numbers of children are reared by a single parent, usually their mother. Women appear more vulnerable to depression than men. A team of investigators, led initially by the late Marcia Guttentag and now by Deborah Belle, gives intensified poignancy to these two social phenomena by combining them in their studies of the cumulative power of stressful events and life conditions to produce an extraordinary incidence of depression in low-income mothers, white and black, who are single parents. Scales of life-stress events, mostly derived from large samples of men, have been developed over the past decade or so as a way to measure life stresses that can produce mental and physical illness. Belle's group has added stress events more typical of women's lives and also more chronic, continuing life conditions that can also increase the risk of illness. A question raised by identifying such families is whether "outer" or interventions (improving the outer environment or treating the depression) should have emphasis. The generic question is: When many things need to be done and only a little can be done, what should that little be?

The bad name of stepparents is somewhat redeemed by Paul Bohannan's study of the effect of stepfathers on the mental health of children. Based on what the children say, their parents say, and what the measuring instruments indicate, there is no discernible difference in grades, getting along with friends and at home, and in school behavior between children of stepfathers and those with natural fathers. Stepchildren reach this normality through a route more difficult and painful than their peers—the loss of a father by divorce or death, living for a time in a one-parent home, experiencing a new man in the house. But statistically the effects shortly disappear. This resiliency to change permits an appropriate note of hope for ending this view of new varieties of parenting.

FAMILIES AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The wholesale advent of women into the market place is a phenomenon of our time. But empirical studies of women's own attitudes, clustered around the role of job-holder added to wife, mother, and homemaker, are astonishingly meagre. Louise Hauenstein has begun to remedy this dearth of information in her study of married women, black and white, with jobs and without, living in stressful or settled neighborhoods in Detroit. Such studies should eventually form a more reliable base for evaluating the consequences of marriage and work for women, an arena until now vulnerable to the changing winds of contending firm convictions.

Contrapuntally, Joseph Pleck has examined the family role of men in these changing times. He provides, in addition, an analysis of assumptions of sex psychology, now called into question by new studies, that more than we realize have conditioned our sense of what is possible or desirable in defining sex roles. Further, the male sex role, understood as encompassing the responsibilities and expectations of men's two roles of work and family, may have been seriously misevaluated. Certainly one male sex-role stereotype has been of a husband devoted to work, the challenge of achievement, the smell of success, and the lure of its perks, who gives only lip service and vestigial interest to his family role. Pleck's findings show that all but a narrow segment of men feel a more pervasive psychological involvement and satisfaction with their families than with their work. Moreover, this preference does not appear to be a recent phenomenon. Pleck suggests that men's commitment to work is largely motivated by wanting to show the capacity to support their family. By and large they and the culture designate this capacity as the sign of mature manhood. If so, a large adjustment may be required if women begin to meet or exceed men in the role of primary breadwinner.

Another social issue raised by Pleck's most recent work is that of *role strain* in both men and women, if they must both now meet performance expectations designed when husbands specialized only in breadwinning and wives only in taking care of husbands, kids, and homes. Both parents cannot give work and breadwinning the priority that the culture has expected and received from men without giving short shrift to care for each other and a family, presumably the powerful grace that makes a family worthwhile and sustains the generational continuity.

Louis Ferman analyzes the different kinds of demoralizing impact that losing a job may have on a breadwinner. Length of unemployment does not appear as important as the amount of economic deprivation in predicting an unemployed breadwinner's reaction, and the long-term unemployed have higher morale than do those who endure the uncertainty of finding and losing new jobs. Backstopping unemployment are formal support devices built into our post-Depression social structure, such as unemployment insurance, employment agencies, union supplemental unemployment benefits, and welfare. Beyond these are informal support systems whose impact we know less about—the social support and sympathy of friends, neighborhood affiliations, especially family, the functional economic support of other household members, and supplemental support from "the irregular economy," the unrecorded, untaxed, hand-to-hand cash exchange for jobs done. Ferman's case studies of laid-off workers remind us not to treat the unemployed, their problems, recoveries, or interventions made on their behalf as homogeneous.

A quintessentially American problem of families facing the outside world and adapting as minority outsiders to a mainstream is paradoxically exemplified in our most native Americans, the Indians. Dorothy Miller, like Sena-Rivera with his Chicano graduate students, has emphasized the value of training Indian researchers for her studies. She and her colleagues have classified into four major groups the modes of adaptation of members from a number of Indian tribes as they have moved from reservation to city, in this case, Oakland, and the Bay area of California. The groups are classified: traditional, transitional, bicultural, and marginal, according to how the family preserves or abandons the tribal culture's means and ends, and accepts or rejects the new white cultures. The rubric throws into bold relief some of the poignant trade-offs demanded between learning survival and preserving identity in enduring the huge disorienting changes of relocation from the reservation to the city.

FAMILIES IN DISTRESS

The family is a nexus that links and conditions the baby's and then the growing child's perception and responses to the outside world. Over time the family shapes the future habits, capacities, limits, recurrent patterns of behavior, attitudes, and feelings of the grown adult. We are still far from understanding with any great exactness or assurance how the host of factors in this hugely complex process are best understood and related. Grossly, though, we can see that some families, despite circumstance, are a nurturing, sustaining source of strength to their members; some do beautifully by one member and badly by another; some are gradually overwhelmed by the burden of genetic heritage or environmental conditions. But some families for different reasons turn inward on each other, exploiting, damaging, and destroying; others turn outward, inflicting violence on the world. These are families in distress. Investigating the ways this distress happens, why it occurs, and what can be done, forms another body of research.

Lee Robins' sophisticated epidemiologic studies of antisocial behavior in children and of antisocial personality adults (also diagnosed as "sociopathy" or "psychopathy") indicate very early onset of strong predictors of these adult conditions in such childhood acts as truancy, academic failure despite adequate IQs, stealing, discipline problems, and poor peer relations. We do not yet know whether this early onset, considerably more marked in boys than girls, can be traced to genetic, fetal, or early environmental factors. Followed up years later, less than half of even the most highly antisocial children were diagnosed as sociopathic, but virtually none was psychiatrically healthy. The number of symptoms is a better predictor of adult sociopathy than any particular one. The adult lives are blighted, in turn often blighting their children's lives. These lives exact a heavy burden from society, contributing a disproportionate number of criminals, prisoners, vagrants, addicts, and psychotics whose combative traits require restraining. Much could be gained if early interventions could divert or mitigate this progression from antisocial child to grown-up.

John Rolf and his colleagues have undertaken studies for very early (preschool) identification of children at high risk to become "disturbed," then problem children, then deviant, then delinquent. Some early predictors are having deviant parents (with psychotic or criminal histories); showing chronic aggressive behavior; suffering severe social, cultural, economic, and nutritional deprivations, or physical, temperamental, or intellectual handicaps. Parallel studies are monitoring early therapeutic interventions, exercises to promote physical competence and cooperation with other people. A large-scale prospective study will follow these children and the normals of their cohort to see whether this approach can make a difference.

Children who do show one or another of these antisocial symptoms as they grow older find the symptoms can themselves carry independent and unanticipated consequences that deepen or accelerate the tendency to deviation. An illustration of this occurrence appears in followup studies of runaway children conducted by Lucy Olson, Elliot Liebow, Milton Shore, and F. Vincent Mannino. The adolescent who at 14 or 15 has repeatedly run away seeking premature independence may be found at 25 still home-bound, wrapped in ambivalent and prolonged family dependence, while his or her nonrunaway siblings have matured and left the nest. Middle-class runaways may fare worse than working-class runaways, because in leaving home they sever more dramatically the ties that bind them to their class. Lacking occupational skills as adults, most of the former runaways work (when they work at all) in dull and unrewarding jobs.

Sometimes the family itself, the pattern of relations between members, can go awry. This can happen when a family has not developed avenues for negotiation of conflicts, and these are left unresolved to threaten repeatedly. The exasperated cry, "You make me sick," can be literally true. Salvador Minuchin and his associates have studied young diabetic children, whose recurrent ketoacidosis, a metabolic disturbance precipitated by release of free fatty acids (FFA) in the blood, turned out to be induced by stress within the family. In monitored family conflict, blood FFA level, a measure of stress, rose dramatically in the child as it dropped in the parents. Skewed family relations can be a factor in other physical diseases as well, and in time the disease can become a necessary part of the pattern, the excuse for avoiding threatened conflict. In such cases the cure is often family therapy to reorganize family patterns.

But sometimes the pattern is not so subtle. Instead of one parent using the child as weapon or shield against the other, one or both parents may use the child as a target of explicit physical violence. Child abuse seems inexplicable to most of us, a cruelty beyond comprehension. The 1975 national survey of family violence conducted by Murray Straus and Richard Gelles reveals an astonishing level of it, even when pushing, slapping, shoving, strapping, caning, and paddling are excluded—all acts that, done to strangers, could be considered illegal. Generalizing the survey's findings, which the investigators regard as an underestimate, about 3.7 percent of the Nation's children between 3 and 17 and living with both parents were punched, kicked, bitten, beaten up, threatened with or had used on them a knife or gun, in most cases except for knives or guns, repeatedly. A comparative figure for spouse abuse is 6 percent. The connection is more than accidental in that violence is a family habit, passed on as children become parents. Families that resort to it are implicitly reinforced by some of our cultural and even judicial norms, such as the prohibition in most jurisdictions against a woman suing her husband for assault damage, because in the words Straus cites of a 1962 California Supreme Court judgment, it ". . . would destroy the peace and harmony of the home . . . ." Physical violence is more common in the home than outside of it. The child abuse we find incredible is simply the extension of behavior sanctioned for the home, a "hitting license," in Straus' expression, that is not tolerated at work or play outside the home.

Within a family, a habit of physical violence can escalate by increments into child abuse. Julius Segal's wide-ranging review of its origins, prevalence, effects, and prevention reminds us that it is not unique to our country or time or even to our species but is nevertheless an insidious and desperately anguishing disease of family life. It has long-term effects beyond direct physical damage, enormous penalties in children who "die easily and willingly," their physical deterioration, dramatically higher death rates, dwarfism, and stunted mental and emotional growth. Segal also cites studies that illustrate the familial resemblance of child-abuse effects to those found among neglected children or those growing up poor and stressed in chaotic, disorganized homes under a constant threat of violence. The effects spread outward in a widening circle and ominously forward to the future, where the abused, faithful to their parents' teaching, become abusers of their own children. Prevention can take forms familiar from other contexts—(abusive) "parents anonymous" groups, hotlines, crisis nurseries, child-care education, and public information. Some research is now exploring early identification of high-risk mothers at childbirth, to see whether supplying early, intensive extra contact and services in the postpartum weeks can help break the cycle.

A closeup look at a child-abuse treatment and research project reveals the human faces of child abusers and an approach to matching interventions to the different reasons for abuse. James Kent and his colleagues attend children diagnosed as FTTs (failure-to-thrive), indicating neglect or environmental deprivation, or as NAIs (nonaccidental injury), and their parents. The painstaking steps of pediatricians, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, parent aides, and the parents themselves are detailed in this study. Potentially important for making findings more generally useful are the typologies of FTT and NAI families developed by the project; typologies which distinguish types of parents with different profiles and needs and, hence, call for different treatment.

The social conditions and inequities—poverty, ignorance, lack of opportunity, high stress, disorganization, dependence—that predispose parents to child abuse are not likely to vanish soon, though that is no reason for abiding them. Meanwhile, symptoms can be alleviated, as this program aims to do. But as Kent believes, somehow also the abused child, hurting, gravely learning from it, must be reached to learn otherwise.

MENTAL ILLNESS AND THE FAMILY

The most serious mental illnesses, labeled generically as psychoses, are schizophrenia and the affective psychoses of manic-depression (bipolar) and depression (unipolar). Each can be acute or chronic. In children there is far less consensus on the best classification of the serious mental disorders, which are not yet well understood and are often difficult to extricate from normal developmental changes. Thus, applied to children, words like "psychosis," "autism," "depression," and "schizophrenia" should be understood as they are defined in each specific context.

There is no neat way to lay out the multiple, layered, reciprocal, and tangled ways in which families and mental illness affect each other. Families provide both the genetic channel for transmission and the convoluted patterns of family relations that can make members more vulnerable to the psychoses, though we understand these processes imperfectly. Mental illness can provide families with the bewildering experience of a loved, utterly familiar person becoming a frightening stranger. A wife may watch a husband sink into prolonged apathy; parents may come finally to admit their beautiful, beloved child is not growing normally; an exhausted daughter may give up trying to meet her mother's escalating, ever more bizarre demands. Or any one of these recovering from mental illness may return to a family wounded, frightened, guarded, even hostile, as unskilled in negotiating new, strengthening ways for mutual support as the members were ignorant in recognizing and meeting the illness as it grew. Mental illness is abrading, sometimes sorely and endlessly, for both family and afflicted. Perhaps only those who have engaged it have earned the right to treat it lightly. But we can destigmatize and demystify it and work to make the lives of those touched by it no harder than need be.

John Clausen has investigated the effects of mental illness on families where one spouse became ill, through samples drawn from the 50s and again from the 70s. In that interim treatment changed considerably with the introduction of drug therapies (such as lithium for mania, the tricyclics and monoamine oxidase inhibitors for depression, the phenothiazines for schizophrenia) and drastically reduced institutionalization. The changes have produced unquestionable benefits in reduced stigma and life disruption, but also sometimes have pitched the still symptomatic patient back into a family milieu still unrecovered from prehospitalization turmoil. Patients are released on drug regimens with too little physician monitoring.

Clausen is dismayed at the lack of professional attention and support accorded the family, even today, toward learning to cope with psychosis, though some families in his 50s' sample showed great resiliency and tenacity over the years. But even in the 70s' families, there was no evidence that psychiatric help extended to seeing what the degree of upset and need for help was among children of a psychotic parent. On the basis of his recent interviews with the 50s' families, Clausen believes that the part played by the well parent can be critical, though that spouse today has little help or guidance.

The family confronted with a major psychosis may be acting as a channel for a hereditary predisposition to the illness. David Rosenthal and Elliot Gershon have studied this genetic influence. Rates of schizophrenia in the general population are 1 percent but run as high as 12 percent in parents of schizophrenics. A greater proportion of children of schizophrenic parents, adopted by normal parents, become schizophrenic compared with adopted children with normal biological parents. The chances are about even for identical twins that, if one becomes schizophrenic, the other will, too.

The picture is somewhat similar with the major affective illnesses—if one identical twin has a psychotic depression, the chance of the other twin having it ranges from 60 to 90 percent, depending on the study. In one study the rate of depressive illness in families of depressed people was 10 times that of families who were not depressed. This depression is not the hard-time blues, which can strike us all, or even devastating grief that can seem beyond bearing but that finally passes. These are depressions or manic-depressive cycles that have a somewhat coherent set of signs and symptoms, become pervasive, involving many body systems, show a discernible course and a tendency to recur, and often need more than psychotherapy to help recovery. Epidemiologic genetic studies of this sort are useful in genetic counseling.

Intriguing clues are emerging from the enormously complicated, rapidly developing mapping of neural mechanisms of action and their functions. In some studies the level of the enzyme monoamine oxidase in blood platelets is lower for schizophrenic and manic-depressive patients and their families than for normals. Elliot Gershon has found that activity of another enzyme, catechol-O-methyl transferase (COMT), is higher in psychotically depressed patients than in normals. Other studies show there may be a gene linkage or association between manic-depression and a type of color blindness. The import of these studies is still far from clear, but in time they will help us understand the nature and relation of the psychoses to such markers, knowledge that will equip us to avoid or ease their hereditary thrall.

Some investigators believe that parental communication can be a factor in schizophrenia's development. Lyman Wynne and Margaret Thaler Singer have tried to identify in the parents of schizophrenics types of destructive traits of communication and patterns of family interaction that might have impaired the child's own ability to think and communicate. These studies suggest communication deviance as a marker for schizophrenia. Other studies of Wynne and Singer with Margaret Toohey suggest this deviance may also characterize nonschizophrenic adoptive parents of schizophrenics—findings which contribute to the ongoing enterprise of teasing-out the respective contributions of genetic and environmental factors to development of the disorder.

One device for tracking and isolating the factors contributing to a disease is longitudinal research, which follows high-risk subjects over many years, without the dangers of factor preselection and fallible memory attending retrospective studies. Such research is expensive and logistically complicated, but it offers the hope of identifying early predictors of mental illness and, hence, the possibility of prevention. One of the oldest of several such studies is that of Sarnoff Mednick and Fini Schulsinger, a Danish psychiatrist, which confirms the strong genetic base of schizophrenia, indicates that preschizophrenic boys tend toward violence and other disturbed behavior in school, and suggests that the illness process may be different for the two sexes. Because of the years required to accumulate data in longitudinal studies, it may be some time before the two dozen or so ongoing studies show substantial findings.

Besides schizophrenia, the affective psychoses—manic-depression and depression—make up the other major category of severe mental illness. Although these illnesses occur primarily in adults, Leon Cytryn and Donald McKnew have investigated children to whom they attributed "masked depression," those who, though not overtly depressed, showed depressive elements—frustration, despair, hopelessness—in their dreams and fantasies. Depression is high among children of depressed parents, probably for both hereditary and environmental reasons. All children have downs and ups, but if a down persists for months and begins to impair school work, social relations, eating, and sleeping, attention is needed by a pediatrician or family doctor. For younger children parental counseling to provide extra support is often indicated, for older children, family and individual therapy.

But sometimes the difficulty with children is more serious and brings to the family a challenge to all available resources, courage, and stamina. Although the nomenclature of childhood mental illnesses is not settled, Donald Cohen and his colleagues have studied and treated autistic children who are developmentally disabled and unable to relate normally to people and social situations. For many years the condition was attributed to cold parents unable to love, so that, in addition to being worried, distracted, and often exhausted by their child, parents were also regarded by professionals as unconcerned and unloving. Though this attribution is now largely retracted and clues are accumulating, we are still not too far along in understanding autism's etiology. Neurotransmitter and endocrine involvement is likely, but the precise mechanisms are still speculative—dopamine system overactivity may be associated with some aspects of autism and the fluctuation in amounts of the thyroid hormone thyroxine may account for the autistic child's large behavioral alterations. While some children can read, repeat sentences, remember dates and numbers, what seems impaired is the ability to give significance or meaning to events or people. Except for those lightly touched, who can grow to fashion places for themselves on protected fringes of the mainstream, most autistic children face an adulthood in an institution or other protective living arrangement as they grow beyond the capacity of even the most devoted family to control and care for them. Aphasia, atypical personality development (also called "early onset, nonautistic, childhood psychosis"), psychosocial dwarfism, and Tourette's syndrome are other childhood mental illnesses Cohen's group has treated and studied.

Clinicians trying to understand the underlying mechanisms and causal factors in severe mental illness often face a conflict between their research requirements and the patient's need for treatment here and now. Childhood psychosis is not only quite rare but varies tremendously from child to child. It is difficult to obtain the homogeneous subgroups needed for careful research into the nature and cause of specific disorders. Because of the variability in the children, research on the effects o treatment often relies on a design that uses each child as his own control and measures progress as treatment proceeds.

This kind of treatment research is especially important in programs where clinicians cannot pick and choose among children they will treat. Such is the case with the North Carolina program run by Eric Schopler and his colleagues. Their experimental program for training parents to be cotherapists with their own psychotic children has evolved into a statewide program. It now serves not only psychotic children but also those whose need for special education and treatment is similar to that of the psychotic child. The usual procedure of Schopler's group is to diagnose and evaluate the child's degree of psychotic impairment, behavioral disturbances, and family problems. Then they help the parents learn the special techniques that can be used at home to alleviate symptoms and behavioral problems. Research is a large part of Schopler's program as well. Much of it is directed at clarifying diagnostic criteria and improving treatment procedures. In the long-run, however, the contributions Schopler will probably be remembered for are his early refusal to see parents as responsible for their child's disorder; the studies he and his colleagues have done that show that parents of psychotic children are normal; and the continuing demonstration that these children, like most children, are better off with their own parents.

STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY

Love, care, nurture, mutual support, and devotion are the flowing wellsprings of family living that give to many of us life's most basic joys and purpose. Others of us may wish it were so, but we flounder from incapacity, ignorance, or lack of skill. Probably we all are less skilled than we would like to be. Some research investigates ways to increase that skill.

The late Ira Gordon believed that early intervention programs could stem the influence of deprived, poverty-level environments on the cognitive development of infants. Gordon and coworkers he trained, themselves members of the population served, enlisted the parents, especially the mothers, by training them at home to stimulate the emotional, perceptual, motor, and verbal activities of their babies. He believed for this intervention to be effective it must begin early, have some continuity over time, and imbue the mother with enough confidence to set expectations for her children and to provide the atmosphere—order, attention, interaction, encouragement—for their achievement. Given the opportunity, he would have instituted a prenatal program to help parents begin even earlier to appreciate and practice parenting. His emphasis was directed at supporting *family* capacity rather than extending the school downward by expanding preschool facilities.

A similarly sensible yet sensitive approach is illustrated in Dr. Patricia Ryan's Foster Parent Training Project, which provides classes in what has developed into a curriculum of over 20 courses, providing role-playing, discussion, and coaching for foster parents. Unlike orphans, foster children cannot be adopted, because their natural parents are still living and have not agreed to release them. Three-quarters of the Nation's foster children live not in institutions or group homes but with foster parents. The problems that made their parents give them up in the first place are compounded by separation trauma, sometimes through a succession of temporary homes. Foster parents have special pressures in responding to these sometimes distrustful, resentful, wounded, difficult children, and in satisfying the supervising agency and natural parents. The Project, initially operating out of East Michigan University, has gradually developed the accoutrements of a self-sustaining enterprise, part of a statewide training and support network.

Most babies, regardless of social class or race, perform quite similarly on developmental tests until about 18 months, when the averages of some begin to decline. Eventually these will enter school with a handicap most of them never overcome. Burton White's studies in child development indicate a particularly critical developmental period beginning at 6 to 8 months and running to about 24 months. Early in this period the baby begins to move about and to understand language. At about 1 year it begins to have awareness of a separate identity, apparently through social interactions, mostly with its "primary caretaker," which seem to shape its subsequent style as social animal.

The primary caretaker, still usually a mother, appears especially important during this period, to provide the constant daily, repeated contexts, conversations, arrangements, invitations, involvements that make the baby *want* to adventure and explore its world. Language, curiosity, social competence, and intelligence are four elements mothers should want and design to encourage. In the studies, effective parents performed three major functions that distinguished them from other parents: Instead of penning the child they made living areas as safe as possible and then provided maximum access to it; they consulted with the child dozens of times daily, responding, talking, but not more than the child asked for; they set firm limits, within which they were loving and encouraging. To have the four elements and the three major parental functions that encourage them identified is a boon for parents.

But sometimes a child may go off the main track of normal child development and become a problem by school age for himself (or, more rarely, herself) and those around him. Unchecked, these problems can grow into later incorrigibility, delinquency, social problems, or even adult crime. Gerald Patterson has developed a treatment program based on operant-conditioning concepts, designed to help parents gain control of a situation when a child is "out-of-hand"—aggressive, hyperactive, defiant, destructive, violent. Parents of such children are sometimes part of the problem, as pointed out, for example, in Segal's child-abuse review. The whole family may be so deeply committed to aggression that it no longer communicates, in order to avoid the risk of pain. The treatment emphasizes rewarding desired behavior and either ignoring or punishing (by "time-out" isolation) the undesired, in a consistent, reliable way until new behavior is shaped. As Patterson remarks, the principles are easy to understand but not so easy to carry out, requiring as much discipline of the trainer as the trainee.

Elaine Blechman has carried behavioral principles in original and promising directions by developing a board game something like Monopoly that parent and child can play to learn another behavioral change technique, that of contracting, to reconcile immediate differences and, for the long term, to achieve negotiation skills as a way of resolving conflict. The device of a contract game is particularly ingenious, because it allows quite small, usually powerless, children to share power in changing their own and their parents' behavior. Thus, the aura of one-sided manipulation that sometimes hovers over behavior modification proposals is avoided. Moreover, youngsters can learn and practice the principles in a game setting that is fun and can learn simultaneously to negotiate with a parent in the same auspicious context. The game can be learned, practiced, generalized, the training faded, among families and others who are limited in verbal skill. This technique extends the reach of such training beyond that of psychotherapies, which require some verbal nimbleness, and downward in age to children otherwise not easily accessible.

Bernard Guerney and his colleagues have used many of the same principles and elements of humanistic psychotherapy in developing the technique he calls *Relationship Enhancement* which tries to eliminate dysfunctions in patterns of interpersonal interaction between husband and wife, parent and child, therapist and patient, and groups as well. Implicit in many behavioral approaches and their emphasis on acquiring skills is a shift from a medical model, implying sickness, to an educational model, implying insufficient knowledge or training. There is often a corresponding shift in responsibility, from an authority who dispenses expertise, as a doctor dispenses, diagnoses, and prescribes, to an empowered laity with techniques that let them help themselves. At the same time, the education is not book learning but skill learning, less knowing facts and more learning how, less like memorizing and more like bike-riding, less like rote and more like an art.

But most of us are not used to thinking of our personal relations with others, especially relatives and friends, as a matter of skill. In this domain we are more used either to flying blind with whatever grace or stoicism we can muster or, at the other extreme, to laying hefty psychological, psychiatric, and psychoanalytic characterizations on those we must relate to and can't. Or we bring to this domain the elaborate beside-the-point super skills of baffled Henry Higgins wondering why a woman can't be more like a man, or the nubile facility of Nabokov's adolescent Lolita manipulating poor Humbert. Or many of us claim we are busy with more serious and tractable things than a relation to our spouse, child, intimate, or friend. But sometimes the patterns of these relations, not so bad as to be sick, not so good as to be soaring, are amenable to our becoming more skillful, as a craftsman wants to be. Guerney's relationship enhancement and similar techniques of others allow us to develop these skills.

Finally, there is the relation of families, and the idea of the family, to Government—the set of issues having to do with whether or how much governing units should take impact on family strength into account in making their decisions, who speaks for families, when interventions are justified, and how far they should go. Governmental decisions inevitably affect families. Effects of decisions, intended or not, expected or not, work into the warp and woof of our family lives, and become part of the design. In this sense, levels of Government have a "family policy," however inadvertent. Whether family policy should be more explicit, formed, and intended, and if so, how that is well done, is for some future agenda to determine.

Families are striking in the variability and richness of their styles, strengths, functions, vigor, reach of influence, adaptive elasticity, and durability. Families are the mediating cradle and crucible for each naked newborn. Each arrives with its endosomatic genetic allotment, utterly dependent within each family, to begin the complementary process of exosomatic evolution, to which, as Peter and Jean Medawar have suggested, we owe our present biological advantage and hope of future progress. Thus, each family harbors and influences by some increment not only its members' fate but also humankind's, according to how it preserves and innovates in successful adaptation.

In this successful adaptation, one element is laying out what we now know or have sufficient reason to believe. This volume is offered as such a contribution. Beyond lies the task of what we choose to do. That is a matter of skill and will and wisdom and must wait a later day to be recorded.

Part I. The Family as an Enduring Unit

FAMILIES IN HARD TIMES—A LEGACY

Principal Investigator: Glen H. Elder, Ph.D.

Author: Bette Runck, NIMH

Depression. Hard times. The words evoke images of applecarts and breadlines, soup kitchens and ragbags, hobo jungles and duststorms. Much of what we know about economic depression we know from the Great Depression of the thirties. The Depression was a national emergency as devastating as war, as packed with human drama as a murder trial. It tested individual ingenuity and endurance. Some grew when they met its challenge; others were broken when they could not. It exaggerated social inequities by enriching some, impoverishing most. No one was untouched by it. A few barely noticed it until higher taxes were levied to pay for new social programs; others felt demeaned by having to take "handouts."

The Depression was one of those universal events which French scholar Annie Kriegel recently characterized as "likely to unify the memory of the whole of humanity." It etched scars that still ache whenever financial winds blow cold. Memories of hard times, once tapped, seem to be inexhaustible. The Great Depression inspired some of the greatest literature we have on the American experience—John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, for example, or James Agee and Walker Evans' *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. The Depression is still remembered, still read about, still discussed in everyday conversation—all signs of its continuing influence. It is part of our shared experience, a chapter in our history.

Simply because the Depression has been enshrouded by myth and enshrined by time, its legacy is unclear. For many reasons it cannot be taken as a prototype of economic depression or cyclical change in today's world. Yet, talk of another depression makes us anxious. What would happen to our families, our homes, our children's future, our jobs—everything we've worked for and counted on? It is at this personal level that the Great Depression might hold lessons for the future.

Elder is trying to understand what the Great Depression meant to Americans—how it changed their lives, their families, and the lives of their descendants.

Glen Elder, a Cornell University sociologist, has been studying the effect of the Depression on the lives of individuals and families for the better part of two decades now. He is trying to sort out the myths and to come to some understanding of what it meant to Americans, how it changed their lives and the lives of their descendants. He puts great store in memories of the Depression, but he doesn't altogether trust them. In his words:

> The past is often reconstructed to fit the present. While the "good old days" are an enjoyable topic of conversation and improve with the telling, there is little reward in remembering the "bad days," unless they reflect favorably on one's present situation and successful ascent. In either case, memories yield an inaccurate picture of life experience in the Depression. [Elder 1974, p. 41]

Elder thinks the Great Depression is too important to leave to memory alone. Yet, like other large historical events, including two world wars, it has been all but ignored by psychologists and sociologists studying human development, intergenerational relationships, and changes in family life. Rarely have social scientists considered the influence of specific historical events on individuals and groups. What Elder and other scholars (especially the new breed of social historians) are now trying to do is to correct an imbalance—to give history its due in psychological and sociological explanations of human behavior.

Working as a visiting fellow at the Boys Town Center for the Study of Youth Development on the outskirts of Omaha, Nebr., Elder is studying the period surrounding the Great Depression to learn how it changed the lives of those who experienced it. The problem under study, however, "is not simply whether economic change produced family and generational change, or the nature of the change; it includes questions concerning the process by which such change occurred." By *process*, Elder means, first, the actions families took to accommodate themselves to financial hardship and also the consequences of these actions for the family itself and for its individual members. To illustrate, consider this typical situation:

> Mothers who sought jobs in the Depression presumably did so in order to supplement family income, but their actions may have had a host of other consequences for the upbringing of their daughters. For example, the working mother would establish a behavioral model for her daughter and was likely to gain influence in family affairs, while the daughter was drawn more fully into household operations. Each of these conditions has implications for the learning or reinforcement of values. [Elder 1974, p. 71]

Elder is able to examine complicated chains of events only because he is able to draw upon a remarkable set of archival records from the University of California's Institute of Human Development on several generations of California families who lived through the Depression. Some 400 Oakland and Berkeley families took part in studies which, as luck would have it, were started just as the banks closed and the stock market came crashing down.

The archives include both objective facts and subjective reports on the families, some of which have been studied for nearly 50 years. The Berkeley records include exceptionally detailed information up to the end of World War II. Jobs were found, promotions came through, father was fired, a new baby came along, a mother-in-law moved in—all were noted. What gives life to these documents is the subjective record. Family members told the investigators how they felt about their loss of jobs and income, their children's development, their marriages, their satisfactions, and their disappointments. The original research workers themselves, as well as the children's teachers, guidance counselors, and classmates, gave their interpretations of the families' experiences.

Elder is using these archives to trace the course of individual and family life over generations. He and his principal associate, Richard C. Rockwell, are trying to learn why some families could accommodate themselves to hard times, while others could not. What were the sources of adaptive strength? How did that strength show itself, day by day? The investigators are also studying the influence of the Depression experience on children of different ages. They are learning that not only children, but their parents, too, fared much better if they encountered the Depression at one point in their lives rather than another. Fate does play a part in one's chances in life. It *is* possible to be born too early or too late.

Elder's research will not give us any final answers about the power of a historical event—even one as dramatic as the Great Depression—to change the course of our lives. The California families do not represent the Nation as a whole. The panel of subjects, although large for a long-range study, is too small and too unrepresentative to make it possible to generalize far from the results. Since the data were collected for other purposes—to learn about the physical and mental growth of individuals—at a time when research methods were less rigorous than they are today, they are incomplete and sometimes colored by biases of the times. But the Berkeley and Oakland studies together provide one of the best available records of life during the Depression. They began at the beginning and documented events and feelings as they took place, not as they were remembered.

Elder is making the most out of this existing data. He is sharpening questions about the influence of history on human behavior. Because the topic itself has rarely been addressed by social scientists, he and his colleagues are also developing methods for doing such research and articulating a theory that can explain the process of change between then and now.

The story Elder is piecing together—a drama of real families living through major historical events of the 20th century—can help us to understand our own lives, much as it did one woman who read Elder's first book on this research. In a letter to Elder, Frances Judd described her Depression girlhood as the daughter of Swedish immigrant parents. She remembers her anguish over "cardboard soles, rag hankies, holes in stocking feet and underwear, and jam sandwiches for EVERY school lunch." She was ashamed of always having to borrow school equipment.

> What caused me to die a little bit every day was the knowledge that I, as a girl, wasn't worth the money it took to get me through school. (There were no boys.) To ask for crayons (or whatever was required) at home was to be rejected; to show up in class without crayons was to relive the rejection—publicly . . . . Over the years I have come to believe that the Depression was used by some—and is still used by many—as an excuse for certain behavior. This is not to say that there wasn't cause for concern—that the suffering wasn't genuine. But I knew many families during the Depression—larger and more troubled than my own but somehow happier and more secure than we were. (They did sometimes share pieces of crayons with me!) [Judd 1977]

Judd, who grew up in Canada, is now a resident of New Zealand, where many families continue to be "blighted" by the Depression, still living in the same "ultra-careful penny-saving way of the 30s." She sees such behavior as a defense against another Great Depression. "If they but knew—another Depression of the same magnitude as the last would have no effect at all on their present way of life because it hasn't really altered since the last one. They are actually still living in a Depression!"

CHILDREN OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Elder almost chanced upon the topic that has come to occupy so large a part of his professional life. Born in 1934, he was a child of the Great Depression himself and had heard his parents' stories about its hardships. But when he joined the staff of the University of California's Institute of Human Development in 1962, he was interested in studying adolescents and their families.

There are few better places to pursue that interest. The Institute, which celebrated its 50th anniversary last year, was the home of three studies which, in the words of one observer, "probably offer the richest collection of data ever assembled on human beings over a long period" (Yahraes 1969). Two of the studies involved Berkeley infants born in 1928 or 1929; one was a guidance study, directed at learning about personality development and the possible mental health benefits of offering psychological guidance to parents; the other Berkeley study was directed at learning about physical and mental growth. The third project involved Oakland adolescents who had been born in 1920 and 1921; these youngsters and their families were being studied in an attempt to understand how the physical and psychological changes of puberty and the adolescent's attitudes and behavior affect later life.

Elder went to the Institute to work with its Director, sociologist John Clausen, on research into the family relations and career development of the Oakland subjects. After preparing several articles on the topic, Elder got the idea of rearranging the data, viewing them in historical perspective, and "explicitly examining the ways in which the Great Depression modified the lives of the families and influenced the development of the children" (Clausen 1974).

Elder's book on the Oakland subjects, *Children of the Great Depression*, was published in 1974 and was met with enthusiasm by his academic colleagues. Social historian John Modell, for example, commended Elder for his imaginative use of the Oakland data. In Modell's words, Elder showed "extraordinary ingenuity and respect for detail and significance." Modell found that the book shed light on historical realities other than the Depression—"on the smooth acceptance after World War II of the military-industrial economy, its attendant prosperity and politics," as well as the continuation of class stratification, male dominance, and the preeminence of the family as an institution in American culture (Modell 1975).

Adolescent boys from middle-class families who were deprived during the Depression seemed to benefit from their experience.

Such appreciation for the book's far-reaching significance provides a measure of the intelligence of Elder's analysis rather than the strength of the statistical data. There were only 167 subjects in the original Oakland sample, although the data on most covered some 30 years. Elder had no comparison groups. To tease out the effects of deprivation and class status, he divided the study sample into four subgroups: Those whose families suffered relative deprivation during the Depression (defined as having lost a third or more of their income between 1929 and 1933) and those who were not deprived; these groups were further divided into middle- and working-class families. Using quantitative techniques, Elder linked experiences and feelings during the thirties with the subjects' outcomes in the fifties and sixties. By the time the sample was divided into subgroups, however, statistical tests became problematic.

The value of *Children of the Great Depression* lay in Elder's interpretations (which are discussed in a later section of this report). The findings themselves are of interest primarily for their heuristic value—that is, they suggest relationships that call for closer scrutiny. But the results do add up to a coherent picture of life during the Depression, and they are intriguing:

- Boys from deprived middle-class families seemed to be better off because of their experience during the Depression. As adults they were healthier, especially psychologically, than men who had come from nondeprived middle-class families. Despite their families' hardships, which forced them to go to work, the deprived boys attained educational levels equal to those of their nondeprived classmates. Their occupational status was actually higher by the time of the followup at age 38 to 40.

- Boys from the deprived working class fared less well than the nondeprived. They showed evidence of having more drive, but they were more often kept from higher education because of the family's need for their financial support.

- Adolescent girls from deprived middle-class families were not as fortunate as the boys from such families. Like the working-class girls, however, they were called upon to help around the house. They came to favor domestic activities, adult company, and grownup status. The middle-class girls in deprived families married earlier than their nondeprived classmates, were less likely to achieve a college education, and generally valued family life, parenthood, and homemaking. Like the men, the deprived middle-class women were psychologically healthier as adults, when compared with the nondeprived women.

Elder attributes the life success of the deprived middle class to a happy accident of timing and circumstance. The middle-class adolescents had more resources for coping with crisis than their working-class counterparts. Further, they felt needed, and they were at an age when they could make a real contribution to the family's welfare: As Elder wrote in *Children*:

> The labor-intensive economy of deprived households in the 30s often brought older children into the world of adults, if we are to judge from childhood experiences in the Oakland cohort. These children had productive roles to perform. But in a more general sense they were needed, and, in being needed, they had the chance and responsibility to make a real contribution to the welfare of others. Being needed gives rise to a sense of belonging and place, of being committed to something larger than the self. However onerous the task may be, there is gratification and even personal growth to be gained in being challenged by a real undertaking if it is not excessive or exploitative. [Elder 1974, p. 291]

FINDING A MOTHER LODE

Despite the enthusiastic reception that met *Children of the Great Depression*, by the time it was published in 1974, Elder had come to see it as something of a warmup exercise. He was, by then, deeply engrossed in studying another set of archival records from the Institute of Human Development—this time, those from the Berkeley Guidance Study. He had been dissatisfied with his inability to compare the experience of the Oakland subjects, who were adolescents during the Depression, with another group of children who were younger and presumably more vulnerable to their parents' crises. A toddler, totally dependent emotionally and materially on his or her parents, is in a very different position in a family that has been hit by drastic economic crisis than is a teenager who can go out and get a job to help out. The Berkeley subjects were born in 1928 and 1929 and thus were infants when the Depression struck. Elder wanted to know how they had fared.

In 1971, he had joined the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. By September 1972, he was back studying the Great Depression. He had begun what was to have been a 2-year, National Science Foundation-sponsored study to compare the Oakland and Berkeley subjects.

Elder believes that it is the family that mediates an individual's encounter with society.

During the first year of that work, however, while he was digging through the archives at the Institute of Human Development, Elder discovered "data resources on the family and generations . . . that far exceeded our expectations." Information on the subjects' parents was far more detailed and long-ranged than for the Oakland group, which did not extend beyond 1934 and did not include a followup. What's more, there was information on the Berkeley subjects' grandparents. The discovery led Elder to rethink the project on a larger, more ambitious scale—one that would do justice to the bank of data, and one that would allow him to trace the effects of both the Depression and World War II across generations. As Elder has acknowledged, this opportunity stems from the pioneering efforts of Jean Macfarlane, Marjorie Honzik, and other members of the early project staff. They wisely recognized that data should be recorded as fully as possible, so that no one theoretical orientation would subsequently preclude looking at the data with an unjaundiced eye. (For a bibliography of the many publications based on the Institute's studies, see Jones et al. 1972.)

The Berkeley Study

"With this extraordinary body of family data," Elder says, "I saw the possibility of answering important questions that could not be explored in the Oakland project." Information on the grandparents and the fuller accounts on the Berkeley parents would make possible a clearer understanding of the historical context for both the Berkeley and Oakland families.

The additional records would also help to clarify just how a family's response to drastic social and economic events influences an individual's life course. Elder thinks that the family mediates an individual's encounter with changes in society. Family change, he argues, is a "primary link between socioeconomic change in the Depression and War years and the life course." Using archival data on four Berkeley generations whose birthdates span a period from the Civil War to after World War II, Elder is now examining traditions and experiences the parents brought to the Depression, how well they adapted to it, how it affected their relationships with their children, and what life held in store for them, their children, and their grandchildren in the years that followed hard times.

Elder thinks personalities develop over the course of a lifetime. Families are extensions of this lifetime adventure.

A Life-Course Approach

When Elder first discovered the richness of the Berkeley Guidance Study archives, he also discovered records that had been gathering dust for decades. The data had been collected, recorded, then stored away in binders, ledgers, case assemblies, and file drawers. Some had never been coded for analysis. So, the first task facing Elder and his associates was to put the data into usable form.

That form was largely dictated by Elder's approach to studying family change. His is a "life-course" perspective, a long view of human experience. Research evidence has convinced Elder that individual personalities develop over the course of a lifetime, not (as was once commonly believed) that they are set for once and for all at a young age. Elder sees families as extensions of this lifetime adventure. The individual's experience is inextricably entwined with the family, which softens or accentuates encounters with the outside world. Elder's perspective—his view of individual and family life as ever-changing and interdependent—may seem obvious to the layman. Common sense and our own experience tell us that people and families, like all organic structures, live and change. For social scientists, however, such a perspective represents a departure from long-time practice. In studies of individual development, for example, the changes that come with middle and old age have only recently been considered by more than a few investigators. Studies of families have emphasized structure rather than development. Again, it has been only recently that social scientists have become interested in how families change through history, just as individuals change over a lifetime. Most studies represent cross-sectional snapshots of aspects of family life—the marital pattern of one age group, for example, compared to that of adjacent groups.

Elder, by contrast, follows the same individuals and their families over decades. His method combines the usual social scientist's approach—analyzing quantitative data on large groups—with the old case-history approach. In the Berkeley study, Elder and his colleagues studied 214 subjects up through adolescence, 182 of them to age 40—a large enough "N" to allow for statistical comparisons. Elder believes that both case histories and quantitative analysis are necessary to study the "complexities of social processes in change." He and his associates "move back and forth between holistic case studies of families and individuals over time and quantitative comparisons." They are comparing the Berkeley families to each other and to those in the Oakland study to learn how the Great Depression differed in its effects on individuals who encountered it at different points in their lives.

To make the Berkeley archives manageable, Elder's group prepared seven sets of data. One set includes information on the parents' origins—their religion, nationality, place of birth, and information on the grandparents (such as their educational, occupational, and economic status). Two sets of data concern the parents and the life they offered their children: One consists of detailed accounts of ongoing life in the subjects' homes between 1929 and 1945, including, for example, yearly family income; the other focuses on family relationships up to 1970—the quality of the parents' marriage, their interactions with their children, the family's social activities, health, and hardships, and its residential changes between 1929 and 1945. The other four sets of data focus on the subjects—their occupational preferences and choices in adolescence, the timing and other features of the important events in their adult lives (marriage, children, work, formal education, military service), and ratings of their adult psychological functioning.

Not all of the information is complete for all subjects. When the Berkeley Guidance Study was started, it included 248 infants and their families. Half were studied intensively; the other half served as a comparison group. Some kinds of data (for example, details on kin relationships, intrafamilial dynamics, and some income data) were obtained from only the intensively studied "core" group. As in all long-term studies, some subjects dropped out along the way. By the end of World War II, when the children were about 15, 214 were still in the study; 182 were still active participants in 1969-71, the most recent followup.

The Life Histories

Once the records were organized, Elder's group set to work constructing life histories for each subject and family—actually, histories on nine aspects of each family's experience: economics, worklives of mother and father, household composition, marriage, fertility, parent-child relations, subjective interpretations of life experiences (all from 1929-1945), and an adult life record for the subjects. Constructing the life histories proved to be as intellectually provocative as it was physically tedious. Elder says that during the process he and his coworkers were sensitized to conceptual and methodological issues concerning their study. And time and again they were forced to question the records they were going over. On emotionally sensitive questions, such as whether public assistance was received during the 1930s, Elder's group tried to verify self-reports. They found, however, that welfare files from that era had been destroyed, and other records, such as those on property ownership, were too incomplete to warrant transcription. Instead of these external sources, then, Elder was forced to judge the self-reports by examining statements in the archives from social workers, teachers, and others. Fortunately, their reports proved to be internally consistent and wide in scope.

The Berkeley Families

By national standards, the Berkeley families were fortunate. Two out of three were middle class. Most fathers were employed when the study began in 1929. Three out of four families were headed by native-born parents, and most had the additional social advantage of being white and Protestant. Among all families, income averaged $2,300 in 1929; 3 years later, in the "trough of the Great Depression," it had declined by a third, and the number of families whose income had fallen to below $1,500 (the lowest rung on the income ladder) had more than tripled.

As he had with the Oakland group, Elder separated deprived from nondeprived families on the basis of whether they had lost more than a third of total income between 1929 and 1933. (Comparison of the two samples required similar measures of deprivation; for a critical discussion of this criterion of deprivation, see Modell 1975.) Again, it was relative deprivation that he wished to examine. "Unlike chronic poverty," Elder and Rockwell (1979) observe, "this type of change offered children and families a broad range of adaptive options and resources during the 1930s, particularly among those who were positioned in the middle class as of 1929." The line between nondeprived and deprived roughly corresponded to the point at which the quality of life declined. Among all Berkeley families, 44 percent were "deprived" by Elder's criterion. (Many more of the Oakland families, 61 percent, lost more than a third of their income. The largest difference between the two samples was in the middle class—36 percent of the Berkeley families were deprived compared with 56 percent of those in Oakland.) Because the cost of living declined by almost a fourth between 1929 and 1933, many of the middle-class families were actually better off during the Depression. "By any standard," says Elder, "the economic contrast between nondeprived and deprived families is striking and suggests profound implications for family life, child rearing, and the life course."

Among deprived families, extreme economic loss usually continued for 2 or 3 years. Most at least partially recovered during the mobilization for war that helped bring the country out of the Depression.

Analysis

Elder divided the task of analyzing records on the Berkeley families into four phases. The first three follow the families chronologically and have been done in sequence:

- The social, economic, and cultural origins of the parents and the effects of these origins up to 1930.
- Family change from 1929 through 1945, its relation to pre-Depression factors and economic change (especially during the Depression), and the impact of economic change on the health of parents and children up to 1945.
- The effect of socioeconomic and family change during the Depression and war years on the parents' and subjects' life course, health, and relationships (with emphasis on the parents' old age).

In the fourth "phase" of the research, which has actually been going on throughout the analysis, Elder and Rockwell are comparing the Depression's effect on the Berkeley subjects against its effect on the Oakland subjects. Insights gained from the Berkeley research have compelled Elder and Rockwell to reanalyze some of the Oakland data to make these comparisons. Two modes of analysis deserve special mention: cohort analysis and linkage.

Cohort Analysis

The most fundamental of their techniques is cohort analysis. A "cohort" (the word originally referred to a division of soldiers in ancient Rome) is a group of persons who share one demographic characteristic, usually year or period of birth. The Oakland subjects, born in 1920 and 1921, constitute one cohort; the Berkeley Guidance Study subjects, born in 1928 and 1929, make up another cohort. Sociologist John Clausen, in his foreword to *Children of the Great Depression*, noted that, while cohort analysis has been an "honored technique" among demographers, it has rarely been used by sociologists and psychologists. This is no small technical point. As Clausen wrote, an investigator using cohort analysis "explicitly recognizes that human behavior must be viewed in its historical context."

Given what Elder calls the "long-standing ahistorical bias" of most sociological and psychological research, it is not surprising that cohort analysis has been little used. But for understanding the effects of social change, argues Elder, cohort comparisons are essential. "There is every reason to expect economic conditions in the Depression to differ in their effect on the life course among members of successive birth cohorts." Each cohort, says Elder, "is distinguished by the historical logic and shared experience of growing up in a different time period, and by the correlated activities, resources, and obligations of their life stage." Particularly during periods of rapid change, such as during economic depression and war, individuals probably "acquire a distinct outlook and philosophy from the historical world defined by their birthday, an outlook that reflects lives lived interdependently in a particular historical context."

"Cohort" refers to a group's place in history, "generation" to a place in the network of kin.

In their analysis of the Berkeley archives, Elder and Rockwell are using several kinds of cohort comparisons. They are, of course, comparing the Berkeley cohort of subjects to the Oakland cohort. They are also comparing subgroups within the Berkeley cohort—those that were deprived against those who were not, those in the middle class against those in the working class. They are also looking at cross-generational changes. Elder is careful to point out the important conceptual distinctions between "cohort" and "generation." Each has its use, he says. "Cohort" refers to a group's place in history, "generation" has "precise meaning within the domain of kinship and family." Members of the same generation are not necessarily in the same cohort. Among the Berkeley families, for example, some parents were much older than others. They were more established financially and socially—the men had higher status jobs (commensurate with their age), the women had given birth to more children, and the families more often owned their own homes. Because these factors influenced the family's potential adaptability during economic hardship, Elder and Rockwell divided the two groups of parents roughly into those who were born before the turn of the century and those who were born after. These subgroups were frequently compared in the course of the analysis.

Linkages

Another analytic tool that Elder uses is a method that results in what he calls "linkages." At a theoretical level, he says, "linkages provide answers to the question of why economic change has particular effects; they offer an interpretation of the relationship, an account of the process or mechanism through which social change influences personality and behavior" (Elder 1974). In other words, by using this technique, Elder is trying to come to some understanding of the process of change, the intermediate steps between cause and presumed effect.

Elder and Rockwell are part of a new group of social scientists who are exploring ways to study the historical experience of common men and women.

To illustrate, he uses the hypothetical example of the relationship between economic deprivation and the marital orientation of daughters. Suppose that the data show a correlation between deprivation and early marriage in adolescent girls. From examining case histories one might surmise that girls marry early because, first, family finances force them to stay at home to help out (mother having taken a job), and, second, strains develop in the family's relationships. Two questions arise about these assertions: Does deprivation have an effect on marital orientation? And, if so, is it mediated by the proposed linkages (that is, the intervening variables of domestic socialization and interpersonal strain)? If these variables can be shown to play some part in early marriage, what is the relative importance of each? Does deprivation affect marital interest mostly because it produces strains in interpersonal relationships or because of domestic influences in the household (or because of some unknown factor)? To judge the relative importance of the proposed linkages, Elder converts each to "more specific and concrete manifestations." Family strain is thus broken down into its components: marital conflict between the parents, on the one hand, and the girl's emotional estrangement from her father, on the other. Domestic socialization is found in the mother's central importance in the family, the daughter's role in running the household, and the lack of parental support for her higher education.

Elder sees linkages as "conceptual bridges" between antecedent variables and their consequences. He argues that it is all too easy to ignore the post-Depression adult experiences in accounting for the enduring legacy of the 1930s. One example, he notes, is the belief that economic hardship and unemployment increased the value of work and job security in the minds of young boys whose parents and communities were deprived. Even if their values as adults do turn out to be different from those of men who were not deprived, one cannot forget what happened to the men after the Depression. "If some boys in a deprived group enter white collar careers and others end up in manual jobs, is it likely that these differences in worklife will make *no* difference in the relation between family background and adult values?"

One Cohort's Perspective

Analytical tools are not, of course, limited to cohort comparisons and the explicating of linkages. The study uses many of the more conventional techniques of sociological analysis. The perspective Elder brings to analyzing the Berkeley data is as important as the tools of analysis, however. It is a point of view born of his experience with the Oakland study and the theoretical and methodological search he, Rockwell, and other investigators have been pursuing in the last few years.

Elder and Rockwell are part of a new group of social scientists, including social historians, who have been exploring the ways in which the historical experience of the common man and woman can best be studied. Difficult as it is to comprehend at times, this exploration has the quality of an adventure. The theoretical and methodological advances made over the last decade, which are discussed later, are reflected in the results now coming from the Berkeley study.

THE DEPRESSION'S LEGACY

Broadly speaking, Elder's research is directed at learning if the unequal portions of hardship handed out by the Depression affected personality and family relationships in some regular way. He is particularly interested in learning how change came about. At a theoretical level, he is trying to account for the multiple strands of experience that join together into a life, the multiple lives that together make up a family, the interaction of individual and family, and the importance of the occurrence and timing of events for both individuals and families. In other words, using the voluminous data on the Berkeley and Oakland families, Elder is trying to find patterns of experience that characterize real life over time.

It will take Elder another 2 years to complete his analysis of the Berkeley data. Once he examines the experience of the parents into old age, he will have exhausted the potential of both the Oakland and Berkeley archives to shed light on the effect of the Depression on these families. As might be expected, so far Elder has found both similarities and differences between the Oakland and Berkeley subjects.

The Berkeley Children

Commonly, in deprived households, as the men lost jobs, income, and sometimes their sense of purpose, wives took over where the husbands left off. The woman might assume all responsibility for the children and household. In some cases she became the breadwinner as well. She gained in power and provided ever greater emotional support to the children as the father became increasingly estranged and peripheral. Although observed in both the Berkeley and Oakland cohorts, Elder says, "this family pattern only made a substantial difference in the family security and development of the young Berkeley children." These children, Elder observes, depended on adults who were often "unpredictable, sullen, and perhaps even hostile."

A Bad Time for Boys

In annual interviews with the children as grade schoolers, one of the original study's investigators judged the children's sense of family security and feelings of warmth toward their families. When they were 8, 9, and 10 years old, both boys and girls from deprived families, in contrast to nondeprived children, had much better feelings about their mothers than their fathers. "However," Elder notes, "boys in deprived families *lost more* in affection for father and *gained less* in warmth toward mother when compared to girls." Thus, the principal result of economic deprivation for parent-child relationships was a weaker tie between fathers and sons and much stronger ties between mothers and daughters. "This female bond stands out as the strongest intergenerational tie among families in the Great Depression," Elder reports. It represents a general pattern in situations where male support is precarious or absent (Elder, in press, b).

In a doctoral dissertation based on Elder's Depression data, H.L. Sacks (1975) found that the Berkeley mothers from deprived homes more often reported conflict-ridden relationships between their sons and the boys' fathers, who were frequently erratic and punitive in their discipline. "The boys' hostile feelings toward father in childhood reflect such conditions and anticipate their adolescent rejection of father as a behavior model and respected person," Elder observes. He also points out that mothers in these families tended to be less supportive and protective of their sons than in nondeprived homes, thereby increasing the boys' disadvantage.

The deprived fathers were tough on their daughters, too, but to a lesser extent. The effect of this behavior, Elder says, "was countered in large part by the nurturant response of mother and her prominence in household affairs, socialization, and economic support."

Adolescence

The advantage of girls in deprived homes was evident in Elder's analysis of the adolescent personalities of the Berkeley subjects. "Whether due to mother's example or emotional support, the Berkeley girls fared well in deprived families and appear more goal-oriented, self-adequate, and assertive in adolescence than the daughters of nondeprived parents." Not surprisingly, Elder says, this advantage was greatest in the middle class, "a stratum in which Depression losses were novel and short-term."

Compared with nondeprived boys, boys from deprived backgrounds were less often judged as ambitious and productive, goal-oriented, self-confident, and resourceful. While they were more responsive to the needs of others, they were also more vulnerable to the judgments of others and were socially inept. "Their world view is distinguished by a sense of victimization and meaninglessness," Elder notes. They tended to meet life with indecision and withdrawal. Impairment in the boys showed up more often in the middle class, despite the fact that their absolute privation was not as great as in working-class families.

Elder finds three reasons for the class differences: First, among working-class families, the disparity between deprived and nondeprived was not pronounced. Second, because these families had experienced economic hardship in the past, adaptations to scarcity were common. And third, middle-class families that had lost heavily in the Depression recovered more quickly during the wartime prosperity that followed; fathers sometimes worked day and night and continued to be unavailable to their sons; and mothers also found jobs plentiful during the war.

Compared with the dramatic contrast between the boys and girls, Elder found only modest differences in the personalities of the deprived and nondeprived middle-class boys. War mobilization helps to explain why. "Perhaps even more than the Depression era," he says, "civilian mobilization reduced the effective 'home' presence of mother and father." Even during the Depression, fathers in nondeprived middle-class families tended to be overly involved with their work. Sons of these men ranked higher on measures of self-inadequacy, lower on social competence and goal orientation, and expressed more dissatisfaction with themselves than boys whose fathers were more involved with them. "Even though related to hard times, inadequate fathering and its developmental consequences for boys were not restricted to such conditions," Elder observes.

Elder attributes most of the difference between girls and boys from deprived homes to the empathy between mother and daughter. But the girls may also have been influenced by their mothers' example in a period when women's options increased. The Berkeley girls were adolescents during World War II, a period when their mothers easily found work, and "thus established a plausible model for daughters to follow in relation to expanding job opportunities for women." The mothers were also young, and taken together with the fact that Berkeley is heavily influenced by the University located there, they may have broadened their ideas about women's options, ideas that they passed along to their daughters. Adding credence to this line of reasoning is the fact that the strongest link between deprivation and competence was found in the girls from better educated, middle-class families.

Good and Bad Marriages

Elder observes that a son's attitudes toward his father are greatly influenced by his mother's. Given the pressures of the Depression, such as heavy income losses, her opinion of her spouse was "least likely to be charitable in a divisive marriage." When Elder and his colleagues examined ratings of the Berkeley parents' marital relationships, they found that closeness and compatibility counteracted some of the ill effects of economic deprivation for sons but not for daughters. Financial losses diminished the family security of boys only when the parents did not have a good relationship before the Depression. On the other hand, a bad marital relationship could actually enhance a girl's feelings of security.

> If parents were relatively close to each other before income loss, economic deprivation enhanced warm feelings toward mother and father among boys and girls (ages 8-10) . . . . Instead of producing generational tensions, financial hardship brought the generations together when parents were mutually supportive before hard times. Neither parent stands out as more preferred in these deprived families, when compared to the nondeprived . . . boys and girls experienced a benevolent side of the Depression when parents faced economic misfortune as one unit, bound together by affection, mutual understanding, and consensus on things that matter. [Elder, in press, b.]

The Cohorts Compared

Since the Oakland subjects were not studied as children, adolescence was the first life stage at which they could be compared to the Berkeley subjects.

The effect of economic hardship on the Berkeley adolescents was, in some respects, a mirror image of the effect on the Oakland adolescents. On three personality scales, the Berkeley boys and the Oakland girls showed evidence of feeling inadequate when compared with their nondeprived age and sex mates. The deprived Oakland girls' inadequate feelings and submissiveness "corresponds with their domestic obligations and social disadvantages in adolescence," Elder notes. They "encountered the social limitations of economic loss during their adolescence in the 1930s, whereas such constraints were largely a matter of history when the Berkeley girls entered adolescence during World War II." The picture for the deprived adolescent males was very different. In contrast to the Berkeley males, the Oakland adolescent boys were "characterized more by a sense of hope and buoyant optimism than by the self pity of a victim of circumstance."

Elder points out that these differences between the Oakland and Berkeley cohorts "underscore the risk of generalizing from a single cohort." But there are problems of method that confound the results of his study, too. As Elder observes, the Berkeley data allow a comparative framework for the Oakland data, but the samples of subjects are not what Elder would have chosen had he designed the study for his purpose, rather than having to rely on data collected for other purposes. Also, Elder repeatedly reminds his readers that the Berkeley and Oakland samples are not representative of the country. The samples, he says, are not "remotely typical of the broader membership of their respective cohorts, 1920-21 and 1928-29."

Adult Life

Many of the deprived Berkeley boys, who seemed so unpromising as adolescents, grew up into adulthood as accomplished as their nondeprived age mates. "A poor start in life," as Elder says, "may anticipate a continuing pattern of disadvantage through cycles of failure, or prompt adaptations that revise the future in more hopeful terms." The Berkeley males from deprived families, like those from Oakland, were less likely to finish college than their nondeprived classmates. (There were no systematic differences in intelligence.) They were more likely to drop out of school because of financial or personal problems. Deprived girls followed a similar pattern, but in their case only the middle class was affected; few working-class girls from either the Berkeley or Oakland cohorts attended college. By middle age, however, many of both the male and female Berkeley subjects had overcome their initial disadvantage.

Among the Berkeley men, higher education—even if it lasted for only a year—was the critical factor affecting later achievements in life (Elder and Rockwell 1978). Men who had some college experience "managed to advance well beyond worklife expectations based on their education, rising to the occupational level of men from more affluent homes by mid-life." Only the small group of deprived Berkeley males who did not attend college continued a life of disadvantage.

Among the women, where adult status depended largely on the husband's occupation, there were clear class differences. Women from deprived middle-class families achieved lower status through marriage when compared with the nondeprived women. In the working class that pattern was reversed, largely because the deprived women more often postponed marriage and childbearing in favor of going to work at an early age—a situation that favored their meeting college-educated men. Among all the women, more than 90 percent worked full time some time before middle age. Two-thirds entered institutions of higher learning, and two-thirds of those completed a 4-year course (Bennett and Elder, in press).

Jean Macfarlane, who directed the Berkeley Guidance Study for many years, has noted that she and her staff had predicted a gloomy life course for many of the subjects in their study. Elder cites a 1963 article by Macfarlane:

> According to Macfarlane, a large number of the Berkeley boys and girls did not achieve a sense of ego identity and strength until adult situations "forced them or presented an opportunity to them to fulfill a role that gave them a sense of worth . . . ." Developmental gains were frequently associated with departure from home and community, a life change which provided an opportunity to "work through early confusions and inhibitions." [Elder, in press, b.]

Elder and Rockwell argue that the dramatic turnaround of many of the deprived Berkeley males came with early military service. Sixty percent of the deprived men had entered the service before they were 21, compared with 17 percent of the nondeprived. Elder explains:

> For deprived youth who lacked self direction and a sense of adequacy, military service offered developmental alternatives to the course charted by their families—separation from maternal control through involvement in a masculine culture, a legitimate "time out" from work and educational pressures in a structured environment, and the opportunity to sort things out in activities that bolstered self confidence, resolve, and goal setting. Some of these themes appear in the life reviews of veterans from deprived households, especially the "break" from a confused and painful family situation. [Elder, in press, b.]

In middle age, the Berkeley men themselves saw military service as a great dividing line between their unhappy youth and their happy adulthood. When they looked back over their lives in their middle-age years, the men who were deprived as children saw their adolescence as the worst period of their lives. Elder quotes one of them: "My entire adolescence was a period of painful and frustrating disorientation . . . . I don't know for sure if the Depression or the general emotional makeup of my family is responsible, [but] I feel that with loving guidance I might have evolved into a far more useful personality." The majority of deprived women also saw their adult years as being the best period of their lives, but their memories of adolescence were more positive.

These findings hint at the kind of understanding that Elder and his associates are gaining from their analysis of the Berkeley and Oakland data. Until adulthood, the Berkeley children and the Oakland adolescents from deprived families fared very differently. Their families encountered economic hardship at different stages of their lives and with different capacities to cope with the crises. Whether they were male or female, middle or working class, and from homes where the parents were close or quarreling also affected the effect of the Depression on them. Just as important, however, their experiences as adults could help them to overcome the legacy of their families of origin.

In addition to these comparisons on the subjects themselves, Elder has completed his documentation of the pre-Depression experiences of the Berkeley parents, and he is well along with his analysis of the aftermath of the Depression into the parents' old age.

HISTORY AND THE FAMILY

It may be a coincidence that Glen Elder began his study of the Great Depression during the sixties. Certainly the research bears on the many events observed then. The upheavals of that decade—particularly the struggle between generations—cried out for explanation. Why were the children of privilege so dissatisfied? Why were they at odds with social institutions that made the good life possible? What made this new generation so feisty? What was happening to the American family?

History Ignored

Sociologists were caught napping. Questions raised by racial and youth unrest, such as the different historical childhoods of young and old, "underscored the impoverished state of knowledge on social change in life experience." Sociology had little to offer to an understanding of how two world wars, the Great Depression, postwar affluence, and the baby boom affected the family and intergenerational relationships. Yet, Elder points out, *social change* is the major intellectual problem in sociology. Sociologists knew little about what caused such observed trends as earlier marriages, rising divorce and illegitimacy rates, declines in parental authority, and the growing number of female-headed households. Nor had they given much theoretical attention to the process by which families change across generations. After World War II, Elder says, social research "largely ignored the historical facts that are so vital in understanding family patterns."

During this post-war period, the study of the family, in Elder's opinion,

> . . . managed to sever families from their historical settings and from the specific social contexts in which they are embedded. The times were indeed conducive to fallacious interpretations of the family in the course of history . . . . Major historical studies in this era dealt

> less with families or domestic groups than with family systems in a highly abstract domain of generalization (Elder 1978.)

Most research on family change was concerned with large-scale evolutionary change—"the emerging types of family life and their relation to structural changes in society," according to Elder. One phenomenon that received attention for example, was the apparent trend toward greater mutuality and companionship in marriage. Related to this trend was the change in status and social roles of women; women were marrying at a younger age and spending fewer years of their lives bearing and rearing children, while giving more time to education and jobs.

It was only in the 1960s that sociologists again began to give serious attention to the effects of history on the family.

Economic fluctuations have also been largely neglected in favor of studying the effect of evolutionary trends in the economy on the family. Some research, for example, examined the interaction between urban-industrial growth, culture, and family systems. Elder notes that business cycles have been related to such aspects of social life as migration, timing of marriage, fertility, and divorce, but scholars have largely ignored the way in which economic fluctuations impinge upon family life, especially on intergenerational change and continuity.

New Interest in Family History

In his concern for historical context, Elder follows the lead of two eminent sociologists of this century. One is C. Wright Mills. In a 1977 article, Elder cites one example of Mills' concern for historical context, this one taken from Mills' best-known treatise, *The Sociological Imagination*:

> . . . the biographies of men and women, the kinds of individuals they have become, cannot be understood without reference to the historical structures in which the milieux of their everyday life are organized. His-

> torical transformations carry meanings not only for individual ways of life, but for the very character—the limits and possibilities of the human being. [Mills 1959, p. 175, quoted in Elder 1977, p. 288]

The other sociologist is William I. Thomas, whose theoretical arguments are evident in Elder's approach to studying social change. Thomas is best known for a study done with Florian Znaniecki on the Polish peasant in Europe and America. Published in five volumes between 1918 and 1920, this classic study set an example that was much cited but little followed by later generations of sociologists. According to Elder, the study "opened up new vistas in relation to the study of individuals and groups in situations of drastic change."

It was not until the sixties, however, that those vistas were explored. It was only then that sociologists began to give serious attention to the effects of history on the family. Concern over social problems of the times was partly responsible for this shift. Elder singles out three other developments that began to change the way sociologists study the family.

Challenges to Presumed Knowledge and Beliefs

In the early 1960s several sociologists seriously criticized the methods and theories guiding past research on the family. However, not until the 1970s, according to Elder, have these critiques been given due weight. "Idealized images of past and present in family life represent one of the more deserving casualties of this critical reorientation," Elder notes in his 1978 article, "Approaches to Social Change and the Family."

The theoretical insights of such investigators as Neil Smelser (1959 and 1968), Marion Levy (1966), and William Goode (1963) "brought to mind a more differentiated and complex portrait of social change" than had previously been possible. As a result, the "glaring deficiencies" of some popular interpretations of family change became apparent. One example is the notion that families have gone into a decline as a result of serving fewer and fewer traditional functions in urban, industrial society—an interpretation that has survived since the late 1920s, according to Elder. Simply because, in the course of modernization, the family became increasingly less involved in such activities as educating children does not mean that families are not crucial for society. Levy (1966) argues that only if families exist solely to perform those activities can it be said that they are now unimportant. Smelser also criticized the decline concept of the family and conclusions drawn from uncritical acceptance of it. One such conclusion, Elder points out, is that parental authority has been increasingly undermined over the years. Elder continues:

> The insights of structural analysis, as Smelser demonstrates, yield a more complex picture of relative decline in some areas (such as economic training and control), a relative increase in the early years (owing to a reduction in family size), an increase in the dispersal of authority across agents of socialization (school, family, youth groups), and an upgrading of demands on the child, with its implications for qualitative change in authority relations. [Elder 1978]

Elder is particularly impressed by the work of William Goode, whose *World Revolution and Family Patterns* "warrants consideration as the major event in sensitizing sociologists of the early 1960s to the conceptual and empirical tasks in authentic historical research on the family." Goode argued that families were not simply passive recipients of historical trends; the labor force and work process in factories were two conditions that were influenced by families—families which, in this instance, stuck together and recruited relatives and assigned them to particular jobs. In addition to demonstrating the limits of then-accepted interpretations of families and modernization, Goode also specified the questions that sociologists should be asking and the kind of research methods they require. Elder says that Goode left no doubt that he thought it imperative that sociological propositions be tested with historical archival data.

The work of sociologists such as Goode "marked a turning point toward genuine historical inquiry among sociologists," but Elder believes that its full impact was not felt at the time.

Social Theory and History

The second turning point toward historical research came about as a result of a debate over traditions in studying social change and the family. On one side of this debate were arguments for attending to broad structural changes in the family that evolved over long periods; on the other was the need to study families in concrete settings—that is, to study real families, the behavior of individual members, and relationships and changes across generations. Elder and others argue that both should be incorporated into a middle-level approach, one which examines institutional trends as expressed in particular settings and explicates the process by which families change (which, in turn, has implications for social development as a whole).

In studies of evolving family structures, there is a tendency to interpret the behavior of actual families on the basis of structural patterns or trends, Elder observes. An example is research on kinship and the concept of the "isolated nuclear family." Talcott Parsons (1954) first used this concept to analyze the conjugal family in the kinship systems in the United States. Elder notes that Parsons himself has since insisted that he used the term "isolation" in a formal anthropological sense—each family living under a separate roof—not in reference to a pattern of social interaction. Nevertheless, empirical studies of the isolated nuclear family have focused on the social behavior of actual families living in urban areas. The trouble with these studies is that the investigators confused two levels of analysis—structural and behavioral. When their behavioral studies documented the "wealth of kin ties and exchanges that are part of contemporary family life in urban areas," the findings were often taken as a refutation of Parsons' (structural) concept. Elder argues that this is not necessarily so.

The other approach—to study family change on the basis of events, circumstances, and behavior in concrete settings—is just as problematic if it fails to account for the structural changes in society that "determine options and distinguish a setting from other times" (such as the Depression of the 1930s).

Elder notes that several recent investigations have paid attention to both structural trends and specific families living within the constraints of those trends. This middle position was also recommended by W.I. Thomas—Thomas' chief contribution, in Elder's opinion. Thomas studied the process of groups and individuals experiencing changing and historically specific times. But he did not lose sight of the larger context and the impact of change on group structure and the lives of members.

Elder's debt to Thomas is evident. He notes that while past studies of families in the Great Depression and World War II "had much to gain from the concepts and analytic structure of Thomas' approach to social change," they were carried out with "a very different view of historical events." Economic deprivation and the absence of fathers during World War II were represented as temporary crises—crises from which the family would fully recover—not as potential sources of enduring family change.

Social values such as the appropriateness of women working outside the home can be passed on from one generation to the next.

Thomas, by contrast, believed that to understand the process through which an event finds expression—in family patterns, life experience, and social character—one needed to examine life histories. Thomas saw crisis as a disturbance of habit, a disruption in a family's or an individual's usual means of maintaining control over a situation. Confronted with a crisis, both families and individuals work out adaptations that are consistent with customary values and behavior, even if these adaptations don't involve a plan of action. But a crisis may call for responses or changes in the family—such as the need for the wife to take a job—that conflict with customary values and attitudes; eventually the values may be modified as a result. Thus, Elder argues, Thomas has allowed for a "situational constraint" (such as that imposed by economic depression) to influence the expression of values in behavior. His model also helps to explain how these constraining situations have consequences for social transmission across generations. In other words, social values, such as the appropriateness of women working outside the home, can be passed on from one generation to the next. They are most likely to endure whenever they help a person, a family, or a succeeding generation adapt to new situations. Depression-reared men with a troubled and unstable worklife, for example, might continue to seek economic security and job protection above challenge and the opportunity to move into more satisfying and suitable careers.

The Sociology of Age

In addition to the reorientations in theory and methods of studying historical changes in the family, clarification of the "*bond between age and time*" has influenced contemporary research on family history. Elder's own approach derives from all three developments, as well as the theoretical writings of W.I. Thomas on crisis and adaptation. Together, these formulations "offer a fruitful approach to family and kinship in historical time, setting, and circumstance," he notes. The approach "takes a middle course between highly generalized assessments of social development and the morass of detail in historical particularism."

Of the developments in the 1960s that redirected attention to the study of family history, none was more important than the rediscovery of the importance of *age* in sociological analyses, according to Elder. Age, he points out, stratifies people in historical time and it also stratifies their social roles (for example, the age when, according to the norms of society, it is appropriate to marry or become a parent).

Social timing is now part of a "cohort historical approach" which has its primary origins in Karl Mannheim's essay, "The Problem of Generations," according to Elder. Mannheim, a German theorist, alerted sociologists to the way in which history shapes the outlooks of birth cohorts. The historical experience of one cohort is most unlike that of the next during times of rapid change. Elder notes that Mannheim believed that "divergent and even contrasting mentalities" can emerge from such different historical experiences. For decades, however, Mannheim's argument was lost on sociologists studying family change.

Elder dates the rediscovery of the importance of age to an essay by Norman Ryder, "The Cohort in the Study of Social Change" (1965), which "proved to be exceedingly influential." The major statement on age and the life course, according to Elder, was made by Matilda White Riley and her associates in a 1972 book, *Aging and Society*. Riley's group linked Mannheim's insights to contemporary sociological concepts of normative social roles. "From birth to death," says Elder, "successive cohorts move through an age structure of social roles." As each cohort meets age-appropriate roles—going to school or taking a job, for example—it confronts a social structure that may be outmoded. The baby-boom cohort, for example, was so large that school facilities and teachers were inadequate. By the time buildings were erected and teachers prepared, the size of the birth cohorts dropped rapidly. Now there are too many schools and too few jobs for teachers.

"The study of age and its manifold implications is helping to bring the historical realm—of people and places, dates and events—back into the sociological analysis of families."

Sociologists have begun to use the new perspective on age articulated by Ryder, Riley, and others to study social change in the family. One type of study has compared life patterns across successive birth cohorts. For instance, investigators have found evidence that in the last century the span of time in which women bear children—that is, the time between the birth of a woman's first and last child—has grown shorter, while the time between the marriage of the last child and the death of one spouse has grown longer (Glick 1977). Elder thinks that to understand these changes adequately calls for an empirically based method of analysis—specifically, analyzing variations *within* one or more cohorts. Families must, first, be placed in historical time (e.g., whether they encountered economic swings, war, technological change). Then, subgroups of each cohort must be identified on the basis of factors (such as social class and religious and ethnic affiliations) that might influence how historical events are experienced and interpreted. Wherever possible, actual family encounters with the historical conditions under study (e.g., economic depression) should be examined. "In combination," says Elder, "these strategies permit explication of the process by which historical change is registered in family structure and emotional life." Indeed, he acknowledges that this approach, together with Thomas' theory of family adaptation to change, "proved to be a major influence in the development" of his Oakland study.

Increasingly, Elder observes, analysts are finding they must "delve into other archival records in order to obtain satisfying answers to the questions their work has posed." His study of the Berkeley families is just such a case.

However rudimentary the contributions of sociological study of age and the life course to date, Elder believes that it has highlighted considerations on social change and the family that had been neglected—the historical setting in which a family finds itself, a process view of family change, and the interplay between demographic processes and social structure. As he has said: "The study of age and its manifold implications is helping to bring the historical realm—of people and places, dates and events—back into the sociological analysis of families."

Measuring Change—Alternative Designs

One type of investigation that has been handicapped by confusion over the meaning of age is the study of intergenerational change and continuity using cross-sectional surveys of two or more generations. In this type of research, an investigator may find differences from one generation to another on such variables as the breadwinner's response to being unemployed. These differences can reflect at least three realities:

- *Aging itself.* A 30-year-old will find one meaning in an experience, a 50-year-old another. Responses to a cross-sectional survey may reflect changing times—a trend, say, toward less commitment to work—or it may simply reflect values characteristic of different points in the life course.
- *Cohort differences.* Survey subjects who share a birthdate are exposed to a particular slice of history. Differences from one age group to another may reflect the unique perspective of one age group as opposed to another—those who remember World War I, or those who have always lived with the threat of nuclear war. Successive cohorts encounter the same event at different times in the life course and different events at the same time.
- *Variations in historical experience.* Not everyone is exposed to historical events to the same extent. Some families never sent a son to war. In the Depression, some suffered little or no deprivation.

While investigators typically try to account for such possible differences, the cross-sectional design makes it impossible to determine the influence of each variable.

In a review essay published in 1975, sociologist Frank Furstenberg noted another problem with cross-sectional studies. Many of the recent studies of family history have used this design and have contrasted features of family life in the past with those in the present—a "then and now" strategy of research. "Much as one might be able to detect alterations in dress and demeanor by flipping through the pages of a family picture album," Furstenberg observes, "this cross-sectional approach reveals, often in striking detail, what has changed, but fails to disclose how and why change has occurred."

In *Children of the Great Depression*, Furstenberg says, Glen Elder "rehabilitates a neglected strategy for studying the dynamics of family change"—the longitudinal study of life histories. In Furstenberg's opinion, this research method advocated in the 1900s by W.I. Thomas "did not survive in sociology partly because it was unable to compete with more rigorous methods of data collection." Not only were life records unwieldy and unsystematic, "biographical insight was frequently based on personal hindsight." Elder overcame these problems in *Children* by using more sophisticated techniques of handling life histories and by shifting to a prospective design.

Prospective, longitudinal studies avoid most of the problems of cross-sectional and retrospective designs, but present others. They are extraordinarily costly. Other problems have only recently been fully appreciated. The most common is the one facing the investigator selecting variables that are likely to be relevant to the outcome. Social scientists are not prophets. What seems important today may turn out to be inconsequential, while other characteristics that seem trivial now may turn out to be vastly influential or have broad consequences in years to come. The problem being addressed may become obsolete. Funds may dry up. Administration of the project may become unwieldy—subjects drop out, records are lost, the data become sufficiently voluminous to defy analysis. These problems are multiplied when the effects of large historical events are under consideration. The trend now is to study an event, such as a first child leaving home, at two or three points surrounding the event and once some years later.

Family History Today

Elder finds cause for hope in the decade's trend toward sociologists doing genuine historical research on family and kinship. Slowly, Elder observes, he and his colleagues are losing their ahistorical bias. More and more sociologists are doing archival studies of family, kinship, and the life course.

Traditional models of long-range social development depicted the family as a "generalized structural form." Elder, by contrast, believes the family should be seen as "a domestic group that undergoes developmental change in specific historical settings." He advocates the construction of theories that "explicate the process by which families change within and across generations; that specify the antecedents and consequents of change, as well as conditions that alter the causal process." His own work is a step in that direction.

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LA FAMILIA CHICANA

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Que seamos siempre juntos y unidos.

"Jimmy," asked Mrs. Miller, a teacher new to the school and new to teaching Mexican children, "How many are there in your family?"

Little Jaime answered proudly. He was proud of his double identity: Jaime among his *familia*, and Jimmy on this side of the tracks where Spanish names were discouraged on the school grounds. He was proud, too, of his *familia* and his place in it but young in cautious, protective sophistication. Sensing that this school would provide a better education for her son than the "Mexican" one near his home, his mother had arranged his attendance there. He was placed in first grade rather than kindergarten because his older sister had already taught him to read, but no one had yet taught him much about "Anglo" *mores*.

"There's my Papa Eugenio and my Mama Luz, and my Papa Anastasio and my Mama Rivera [grandparents], then there's my Tio Lucas and my Tia Mercedes, my Tio Roberto and my Tia Crucita [paternal aunts and uncles]. . . ."

Incredulously, the teacher interrupted, "You mean all these people live at your house?"

The eager little boy laughed. "Oh, no, but my Tio Antonio and my Tia Maria and my cousins live next door to my Papa Eugenio and my Mama Luz, and my Tio Carlos who isn't married yet lives with my Papa Eugenio and my Mama Luz, and my Prima Teresa and her husband and my cousins from them live down the street from my Tio Antonio and my Tia Maria, and . . . ."

"They do? All together? So close?"

"Sure, all the land there used to belong to my Papa Eugenio."

"Oh," said Mrs. Miller, then, "I mean, how many brothers and sisters do you have?"

The number startled her, and the Anglo children in the classroom giggled. Jaime privately thought teachers don't seem to know much, but respect for one's elders had been instilled at an early age, and he would not have dreamed of uttering such a rude and disrespectful remark. He continued trying to explain.

"My Prima Beatriz is living with us now, too. My Mama is big again with another child and my Tia Bernicita will be coming to live with us for awhile. We love my Cousin Beatriz and my Aunt Bernicita. We hope the new baby will be a girl. It's better for the youngest child to be a girl—you don't want to spoil a boy."

As the storyteller recalls (Sena-Rivera 1978), "I think Mrs. Miller switched us to memorizing the alphabet, which of course I already knew, in English and Spanish."

FAMILIA AND THEORIES OF FAMILY

This was *familia*. Here small Jaime could find loving people who spoke his language, figuratively as well as literally. Now, Jaime Sena-Rivera, Ph.D., presently at Yale University in the Center for Health Studies, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, still sees *familia* as "a source of something familiar and comforting in a very unfamiliar and uncomforting world, really. Expectations and values are shared, and it's a way of dealing with people that's not exploitative, usually . . . a way of dealing with impersonality in a larger world."

As a sociologist *and* as a Mexican American, Dr. Sena-Rivera, while Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Notre Dame University in Indiana, determined to investigate the traditional Chicano composite lineal or extended family social unit. His immediate objective was to explore his hypothesis that the Chicano extended kin grouping has been effective in aiding both family groups and their individual family members to achieve and maintain social and psychological well-being and to cope with stress through their own social interaction. This work is part of a growing body of research investigating the way informal support networks strengthen individual and family mental health and provide a preventive buffer against ill health. Dr. Sena-Rivera's long-term hope is to generate research, both qualitative and quantitative, on the Chicano and other Hispanic groups.

As a family sociologist, Sena-Rivera is in a good position to study and explicate the Mexican-American family phenomenon, *la familia chicana*. In 1970, while at the Mexican American Studies Center of the Claremont Colleges in Claremont, Calif., he conducted a survey of a nearby Chicano community. His 1973 doctoral dissertation, "The Survival of the Mexican Extended Family in the United States: Evidence from a Southern California Town," is an analysis of the data from that survey. It proved also to be a testing of the validity of hypotheses and assumptions about the "classic" extended family in the United States, particularly the Mexican American, and of doctrines of *familism*. In the course of his research studies, Sena-Rivera has evolved his own sociological perspective of family. He has found points of agreement and disagreement with both the general literature on the American kinship system and the historical and sociological literature on the Mexican in the United States.

In a paper given before the American Sociological Association in 1976, Sena-Rivera outlined a few current family theories and presented the background of his hypothesis of the functionality of the Chicano extended family system in the United States in the seventies. He pointed out that, according to Talcott Parsons, one of the most influential American family theorists within the last quarter-century, the American kinship system has evolved from the relatively isolated composite lineal or extended family and is now characterized by the nuclear family household consisting of parents and dependent children. Sena-Rivera does not share this view nor does he agree completely with definitions of the classic extended family that include not only residential proximity and occupational dependence and nepotism but also a belief in the primacy of extended family relations and hierarchy based on the authority of the eldest male.

Sena-Rivera agrees more nearly with two other family sociologists, Eugene Litwak and Marvin Sussman, that the classic extended family as it exists in America today is a modification or conversion from the former model. According to Sussman's hypothesis, there is now a "neolocal" nuclear family system, with nuclear families living by themselves and independent of the families from which they came. These nuclear families, however, are viewed not as isolated but as connected in a network of mutual assistance and activity. They are in an interdependent relationship with the two parental families if they so choose; they are not bound culturally or forced by law or custom to maintain this connectedness.

In proposing that the modified extended family is more functional than the nuclear family in urban-industrial America, Eugene Litwak's theories are sympathetic to Sussman's view. Litwak does not view geographical *or* occupational mobility as inconsistent with maintaining extended family relations. Extended family bonds are seen as an end value in themselves, and the provision of aid across class lines permits the nuclear family to retain its extended family contacts. Since this aid is isolated from the occupation system, it does not impede merited mobility (Sena-Rivera 1976).

Familia in the Kin System

Most family sociologists agree that the practice of mutual aid is basic to the functioning of the kin system. Jaime Sena-Rivera observed this practice as a young child. In a chapter he wrote for the new edition of *La Raza*, to be published soon as a textbook for use in courses on Latin American culture in the United States, he describes this family interaction as he remembers it from his childhood:

> It seemed that my father's brothers, and my father in turn, would go first to one another for loans of varying sizes (not always rapid) at various times instead of to banks or savings and loan associations . . . . ("Why go to strangers?" my father said. "And besides the Americans charge too much interest and they treat you like dirt when you don't know English so well. If you can't pay your brother back, there's no hard feelings. There are ways to make it up, always.") Also, each brother

> (and uncles and cousins) would see each other, especially if the other was older, as legitimate resources for finding work . . . . ("What is more decent," my father said, "than helping your brother or your friend to be independent, be a man, be a good husband or father or son? Besides, they put Mexicans off at The Unemployment.")

When still quite young, Sena-Rivera observed that many of the practices which he took for granted as a part of living were wrong in Anglo eyes. They might now be called *familism*, an impediment to individual mobility and the adoption of more varied role models. In a word, they were *dysfunctional*, according to his explanation in the same *La Raza* chapter, which says, in summary: "Family" is *supposed* to mean the nuclear family, not the extended network; residential proximity is considered extreme if many nuclear families, related by blood, live in the same unit or contiguous ones or even in the same neighborhood; nuclear families should be controlled in size; the practice of borrowing from one's kin creates an unnecessary burden rather than solidarity; economic and occupational interdependency impedes or prevents upward mobility; authority based on the eldest male criteria is arbitrary, paternalistic, and an impediment to individual mobility, and it keeps women overly repressed and submissive (in press).

Concerning the functions of the primary group structures of kin, neighbors, and friends in a technological society, Litwak points out the lack of human resources of the nuclear family group. Such a group, with only two adult members, often cannot handle acute emergencies alone and finds difficulty in managing tension arising from disputes among themselves. They are unable to diagnose incipient emotional troubles or be aware, by themselves, of better ways of handling childrearing, for instance. It appears that socialization learned through everyday activities, the value of neighborhood peer-group help in emergencies, the permanence and long-term ties of the kin, and the good feeling of friendship groups are complementary sources of strength to the nuclear family structure. The kin, neighbor, and friendship primary groups, then, provide resources which complement those of the isolated nuclear family (1969).

It might be assumed that within the extended family, whether "classic" or "modified," the functions of these primary groups are largely "built-in" as valuable components of such a system. This seems to be true for the Chicanos. Indeed, the friendship group structure, which Litwak views as the weakest of the three components, seems quite strong in *la familia chicana*. First cousins, *los primos hermanos*, are commonly raised almost like brothers and sisters, and a particularly strong bond is forged among same-sex and same-age siblings and cousins. Even aunts and uncles are included, since many parents are ending their families at the same time the older children are beginning theirs. From his own experience, Sena-Rivera knows that this bond continues throughout the adult years, regardless of the divergent educational, social, or economic paths, even the attainments or failures, of the individual *familia* members.

Building the Hypothesis of La Familia Chicana

Sena-Rivera has reviewed the literature on Mexican-descent population in the United States and has concluded that many of those hypotheses concerning the Chicano extended family are misleading. He says (1976, p. 6): "*The tri-generational household has never been the norm for Mexico or for Mexicans in the United States or for other Chicanos, except at times of individual extended family or conjugal family stress, or periods of general societal disorganization.*"

In short, the traditional Chicano extended family, as a grouping of independent nuclear households, forms a social organizational unit that might be called "kin-integrated." To prove the validity of this view, Sena-Rivera determined to seek out four extended families which had heads-of-households still living in the three older generations. Each family would be represented by one or more great-grandparents, a son or daughter, and a grandson or granddaughter with one or more children. His reasoning was that the carriers of the "old ways" are the immigrants of the 1910-1930 period and their descendants. From his previous research, he had concluded that proximity in time to the source of the Mexican extended family's traditions explained a more traditional behavior; his objective, therefore, was to determine the extent to which each generation tested the traditional culture in a largely alien setting and found it workable, for themselves as individuals, or for the family group. As members of the crowds of immigrants fleeing the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the poverty and unrest of the two succeeding decades, the great-grandparents received their primary socialization in Mexico where they were born; the second and third generations of each extended kin group (except for a few in-laws of the families finally interviewed) were born in the United States and received their primary socialization here.

As Sena-Rivera puts it, "This particular social organization transcends many different historical periods." He decided to study this age group specifically because he "wanted a sense of history and some accountability, historically, as to why they came and how people coming at a certain period made it in the United States. Until recently, persons in that age group and their descendants were the largest segment of the Mexican population. That's changed now. We have no 'ideal type' anymore."

This observation was made in another way in a paper, "The Mexican American Family," presented at the Mexican American Seminars held in California at Stanford University in April 1970. Nathan Murillo contended: "The reality is that there is no Mexican-American family 'type.'" To support this claim, he pointed out that, like all other Americans, the thousands of Mexican-American families vary in: regional and socioeconomic factors, degree of assimilation and acculturation, historical and political differences, and in patterns of coping with each other and with their different environments. In some families, only Spanish is spoken; in others, Spanish is all but forgotten. Many trace their lineage to the Spanish, others to one or the other of the once-powerful Indian cultures. *Chicano*, a colloquial adaptation of the Spanish for *Mexican*, is a relatively recent term, used "with increasing frequency and with growing pride." Alternate labels throughout the years have been *Latino, Hispano, Spanish American*, or *American of Spanish descent* (1971, pp. 97-99).

THE IMMIGRANTS

Why did they come? Sena-Rivera recounted their story in a historical chapter in his dissertation (Sena 1973). During the second half of the past century, following the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, when the United States gained most of what we now refer to as the Southwest, immigration from Mexico was chiefly along the border to satisfy a modest demand for domestic and agricultural workers. Similar demands in California and neighboring states were met principally by Chinese and, later, Japanese workers.

After the turn of the century, however, a boom in the railroads and in other industries and, very importantly, the industrialization of agriculture, especially in Texas, California, and Arizona, meant a sudden, enormous demand for low-skilled labor, a demand that could not be met by European immigrants, the traditional source for similar labor. Concurrently, the overthrow in 1910 of the Diaz regime in Mexico by revolutionaries meant the breakup of huge landholdings and the subsequent freeing of millions of *peons* from their bondage on the great *haciendas* and *ranchos*. Many gravitated to the cities of Mexico and to *El Norte*, the North—the U.S.A.—where both rumors and recruiters reached them with news of jobs and peace in place of their present unemployment and governmental unrest.

So the flow across the border began. By the hundreds of thousands came *peons* and *campesinos* (other rural workers), young men wishing to avoid military conscription, displaced and persecuted former large landowners and businessmen, city dwellers feeling the sudden pinch of the numbers of new arrivals from the countryside, and out-of-favor revolutionaries and other political refugees. With these, came wives and children and new dependents. Often there were whole groups of extended family households as well, either together or over time.

For most, the border states became the first stopping place and the site for many *colonias* and *barrios*. By about 1920, a fresh demand occurred not only for agricultural workers in the Northwest and in Florida but also for workers in the railroad, steel, automotive, and other rapidly developing industries in the Midwest. Sequential and direct immigration of Mexicans followed into these industries and into growing cities such as Detroit, Kansas City, Chicago, and Gary, Ind. Indeed, the *colonias* and *barrios* begun then in those places are as old as many found nearer the Mexican-American border. Increases in the tide of Mexican immigration, especially just before World War

II and during the sixties and seventies, have established new Mexican neighborhoods and sections of cities and towns or reinforced, both culturally and numerically, older settlements of Mexican Americans throughout the United States, mostly in the Southwest and Midwest.

This immigrant flow to and from Mexico has been determined chiefly by economic conditions: the periodic depressions of the 1910s and 1920s, the Great Depression of the 1930s, the boom time of two World Wars, and the events of Korea and Vietnam, plus the state of the Mexican economy during these periods. The welcome mat for Mexicans has been put out and pulled in according to these fluctuations.

The early 1930s witnessed the forced "repatriation" to Mexico of hundreds of thousands of Mexican families, U.S. citizens or not, since they were viewed as an excessive burden to public and private social and charitable services and to American taxpayers. (Many of them were taxpayers, too.) Periodically since that time, this repatriation has continued.

The *familias* of Sena-Rivera's study are very much a part of the comprehensive immigration and labor history of this century. Each *familia* in its own way has contributed a bit to the mosaic of the growth of the United States. Happily, none of these *familias* has suffered as badly as many of their countrymen nor experienced deportation back to Mexico. But for the majority of these *familias* and their individual members, succeeding in this country over the generations has been far from easy. For several, in material and other terms, their histories could hardly be counted as successful at all. Like other immigrant groups and like the pioneers in the West, many of them Mexican, these *familias*, especially the founders, have shown the fortitude and determination required to make a viable life for themselves and their family members and to forecast a dream of the future for their offspring.

Maintaining family solidarity and loving relationships is difficult under such conditions. But doing so is extremely important for today's otherwise highly impersonal, complex society. Sena-Rivera believes that the story and lessons of these *familias* are worthy of our general attention, that they are applicable across racial and ethnic lines and especially across working-class groups.

PREPARING FOR THE STUDY

During the summer of 1976, four Chicano composite or lineal extended families in the "Michiana" area—Michigan, Illinois, Indiana—were selected for the study. It was necessary to locate and obtain the cooperation of families with the three senior generations still living, all of whom were heads of households, who lived in the area and would be available during the interview period, and who generally filled the economic and occupational criteria deemed desirable for studying families from a variety of social strata.

It was impossible to find a primarily agricultural migrant-labor extended kin group. Second-generation members were on extended *familia* visits during the interview period, or the oldest generation of such migrants had remained in Texas, whence most of them had come. In many cases, there were no members of the oldest generation still living or in good enough health to be interviewed, so difficult is the life of these migrants. Neither did the investigator locate a family group with a firmly upper-middle socioeconomic class and status. Apparently the rise of the few Mexican-descent families to that stratum has occurred among those who have not yet become great-grandparents.

The study, therefore, does not cover as wide a spread of class and status as Sena-Rivera had hoped. None of the families represents a single social stratum either, because each of the extended kin groups within the study had at least two separate and distinct strata of class and status among the three generations of heads-of-household. The investigator believes that this mobility in class and status in his four *familias* is analogous to that of most Mexican-descent population in this country and in this century and writes (1979) that "*familia* is always or soon becomes a source and an impetus for success in the new country."

Sena-Rivera attributes much of the success of his investigation to the excellent, devoted work of his research assistants, three of whom were graduate students in Mexican-American studies at Notre Dame University: Daniel Valdez in family sociology, Victor Rios in political sociology, and Julie Leininger in history. The fourth, Delores "Lola" Villa, who was waiting for her registered nurse examination, was especially attuned to the needs of the respondents she interviewed, since much of her nursing experience and service-oriented family background had been with Spanish-speaking clients. Needless to say, the *familia* members appreciated being able to talk with the interviewers in either Spanish or English.

Sena-Rivera believes that matching the personal histories of the interviewers with those of the people interviewed makes for empathic listening. This approach is relatively new in sociological and anthropological studies; as Sena-Rivera admitted, "It's kind of frowned upon. I had trouble with even this study, which was described as not sociological." However, his own background and that of his helpers allowed sensitivity to "the subtleties of interdependency and dependency" in the extended kin pattern. The training of the interviewers assured objectivity and skilled research.

The investigator hopes that others will follow with more "typicality" studies, learning what is average for a particular group in a given area, and that he can do similar work in other regions. "It isn't so difficult to do. It's just time-consuming." This modest statement belies the years of preliminary research on family studies in general, and on Mexicans in particular, as well as Sena-Rivera's personal and technical experience. There was the planning of the investigation, as well.

What Do You Say?

To begin with, the researcher determined that vocabulary was of prime importance for conceptualizing *family* and, as a concomitant, for interviewing family members successfully. Using the right word for *family* was necessary not only for communication but for making a head-count. To the traditional *Chicano*, how does one express "composite lineal or extended family" in Spanish? *Familia*. What does that really mean? In greeting a Chicano friend, what answer might one expect when one has inquired about the *familia*? About the grandparents' health, which *tia* is expecting a baby, and possibly the whereabouts of various *primos hermanos*.

And what Spanish word would one use for "nuclear family," for one's own household? If young Jaime's teacher had inquired about his *casa*, Jaime's reply would have included only his father, mother, and siblings, *plus* anyone currently living under the same roof. For instance, a cousin, Beatriz, was living with Jaime's family temporarily, and his Aunt Bernicita would be joining them to help with the new baby, thus becoming part of *la casa*.

Throughout the interviews, care was taken to use these words as those being questioned used them and to understand their responses in that light. The term *familia* proved to be used according to the investigator's hypothesis—a social organizational gathering of nuclear or conjugal households which are basically independent. The term *casa* was understood but less often expressed, so that it was more of a convenience in reporting the research than in actual interchanges during the interviews.

How Do You Find Out What You Want to Know?

Sena-Rivera trained his interviewers in an intensive, open-ended technique and instructed them to employ direct observation. They were to notice the surroundings of the homes where their subjects lived; the condition of the homes and grounds; degrees of affluence apparent in the furnishings and material possessions; and, especially, evidences of caring and affection such as gifts and family photographs or home repairs made by kin.

Some of his assistants had trouble with Sena-Rivera's approach at first, and he pointed out to them that the questions are just a stimulus to get people talking about their lives. As he said, "It's hard, so I came up with the idea of the family tree. This way the interviewers could ask their cut-and-dried questions about where the respondent was born, and so forth, and also get the historical sequence I wanted. I had them ask specifically about the interactions of every single person on this family tree, questions like 'When was the last time you saw her?' 'What did you do?' 'How often does she come?' 'Do you visit because you like to?'—obvious questions. That's fairly structured, but it's open-ended. The interviewer picks up a cue and pursues it."

Charting the family tree proved an excellent basis for interaction between subjects and interviewers. Each subject was interviewed separately whenever feasible, and each individual was traced in relation to the others, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Collateral relatives were included when they seemed to belong in the story. Occasionally the subject also included as *casa* or *familia* members persons not related by blood. Memory and the person's own determination of these relationships furnished the histories. Since each great-grandparent was asked to recall parents and grandparents of his or her own family tree, there was a charting of what they recalled of their own *familia* before they migrated. Amazingly, their memories of those times and people seemed fresh and fairly complete, a real legacy.

What Do You Want to Know?

As far as possible, depending on the memory of the subjects and the ability of the interviewers, each individual charted was identified with first and last names, including maiden surnames for females who had been married; age at time of interview or of death; town, state, and country of birth, and residence or place where individual died, with, for both of these entries, the nearest city or town if that place was a village in Mexico; the subject's own designation of nationality or ethnicity; occupation, when employed or prior to retirement; date of subject's arrival in the United States on the most permanent basis; circumstances of *immigration to* and of *migration within* this country; subject's generation in this country, with the first arrival as the first, the first born here as the second, and so on.

Additionally, there were queries about such general items as home ownership and facilities available in the home. The interviewers listed as well any occupants of the dwelling who might not be entered on the family trees and, finally, determined the composition of each subject's household.

Most importantly, the interviewers obtained as much subjective *and* objective information as they could from each person on the *kind* and the *extent* of that person's interaction with each other person. *Kind* of interaction meant regular, deliberate visits, chance meetings at church or the market, and meetings in social contexts—weddings, funerals, and confirmations, or family parties and holiday celebrations. Occasions for mutual aid were included, because house-repair projects, baby-sitting, and escorting someone to a clinic or the welfare office are a part of the whole scheme of living in a *familia*. *Extent*, meaning frequency, was answered with "daily," "weekly," "monthly," or "once a year." Extent referred also to length of time—minutes, days, weeks, and so on.

Most important to the study were replies to such questions as:

- Do you enjoy these encounters? In what way?
- Do you do these things because you want to or because you feel obligated? Why?
- Are interactions with friends markedly different from those with kin?
- Are you content with your own and your spouse's interactions with in-laws?

Other queries dealt with significant changes in interaction which might have occurred in the past or which the subject thought might occur in the future. There was an effort, too, to determine the subject's feelings about change or lack of change. Of particular interest were inquiries concerning what the parents try to teach their young about the kind and extent of interaction with other family members and how they do this teaching. As a sidelight, when it was discovered that someone had been excluded from the *familia*, there was an attempt, usually unsuccessful, to make discreet inquiries about that individual without insistent, insensitive probing.

It was "as if for each couple it was a single rather than a dual existence that had occurred."

In every case, there was an effort to make these interviews as comfortable and relaxed as possible--for instance, babysitting by one interviewer so that another could interview the parent. In the case of a few of the older subjects, it involved attending to physical needs and, above all, being watchful for signs of overtiring.

The interviewers were impressed with the interaction of the great-grandparents in the two families which had both spouses still living. The fond joking and exchange of views and information were not a part of the plan for individual interviews, but they were not discouraged and probably could not have been stopped. As the interviewers observed later, it was "as if for each couple it was a single rather than a dual existence that had occurred."

Some bits of information in these stories were altered or omitted if they were not essential to the study, in order to maintain the anonymity of these *familias* who gave so graciously of their time and their history. In his final report to the NIMH Sena-Rivera dedicated his study to the members of these four *familias* and to members of other *familias* who gave individual interviews preliminary to the main investigation. He wrote: "We are especially indebted to the great-grandparents interviewed, for whom the interviews sometimes were taxing physically and at times taxing emotionally as well. We hope they find some return for their discomfort in this accounting of their inestimable contribution to American sociocultural history—the establishment in their lifetime of four generations of *familia* in the United States."

LAS FAMILIAS

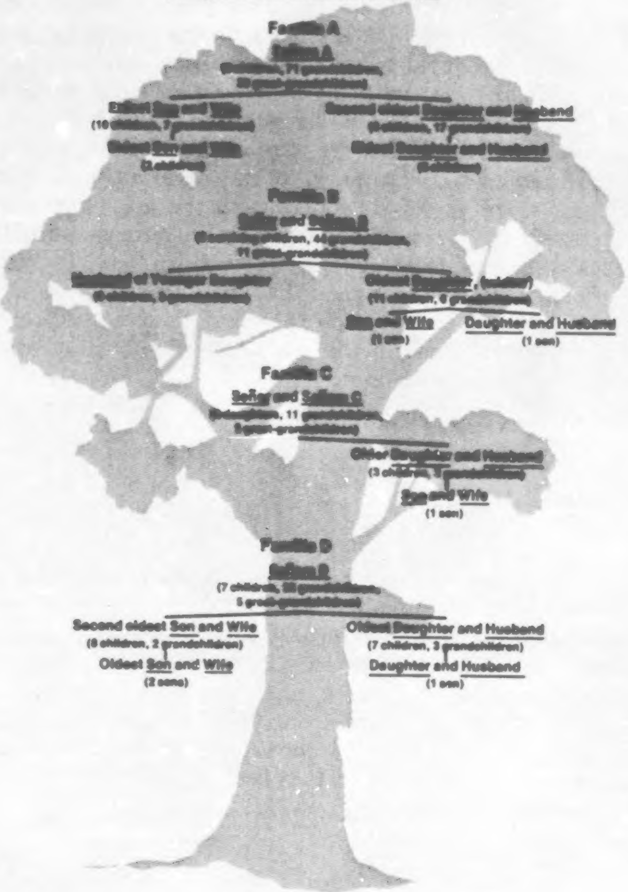
The characterizations by economic achievement and social standing of the four families selected do not describe the rich complexity and the individual struggles portrayed in their biographies. Interviewed in each *familia* were the great-grandparent(s), a son and a daughter and their spouses, if available, and one or more grandchildren and their spouses if they were parents. Figure I shows the "family tree" of each *familia* and indicates which members of each generation were interviewed.

Only *Familia A* is described in fairly complete detail here. With the exception of the first generation founders of the other three *familias*, the sketches give emphasis mainly to the respondents' feelings about familial interaction, concepts of duty or volition, or generational changes in these attitudes or in socioeconomic status. Each *familia's* typical and individual expression of *mores* is distinguished, along with their view of the world through Mexican-American eyes.

Figure 1.

FOUR FAMILIES

(Family members interviewed are underlined)


Family A
Señora A
([illegible] children, 71 grandchildren,
[illegible] great-grandchildren)
Eldest Son and Wife
(10 children, 7 grandchildren)
Oldest Son and Wife
(2 children)
Second oldest Daughter and Husband
([illegible] children, 17 grandchildren)
Oldest Daughter and Husband
([illegible] children)
Family B
Señor and Señora B
([illegible] living children, 44 grandchildren,
11 great-grandchildren)
Husband of Younger Daughter
([illegible] children, [illegible] grandchildren)
Oldest Daughter, (widow)
(11 children, [illegible] grandchildren)
Son and Wife
(1 son)
Daughter and Husband
(1 son)
Family C
Señor and Señora C
([illegible] daughters, 11 grandchildren,
[illegible] great-grandchildren)
Older Daughter and Husband
(3 children, [illegible] grandchildren)
Son and Wife
(1 son)
Family D
Señora D
(7 children, [illegible] grandchildren,
5 great-grandchildren)
Second oldest Son and Wife
([illegible] children, 2 grandchildren)
Oldest Son and Wife
(2 sons)
Oldest Daughter and Husband
(7 children, 3 grandchildren)
Daughter and Husband
(1 son)

Familia A, 141 persons, 29 households, of rural origins, mixed agricultural and blue-collar occupations, and principally small-town residence.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandmother

Señora A and her late husband were born in 1898 in Nuevo Leon, Mexico. At age 19, after a year of marriage, they received permission from Señor A's father to come to the States for 3 months, but remained in San Antonio, Tex., for 24 years, where Sr. A was a railroad worker and where their children were born. Eventually, Sra. A's mother, two brothers, and two sisters joined them, though they lived in separate households.

Sra. A recalls that while they were in San Antonio they were all very close, having been raised according to "the custom in Mexico." The children of the *A Familia* remember visiting with these relatives, especially the grandmother, and getting together with the entire group every Sunday. They still remember, too, learning love, obedience, and respect for them. Sra. A recounts another aspect of the familia relationship: These brothers and sisters helped each other in times of sickness and the brother or sister who sometimes "had more than others helped those who didn't."

San Antonio was hit especially hard by the Depression. In the late 1930s, the *A Familia* joined the great exodus of Mexicans from Texas to the "Michiana" area. The A's came directly to the small semiurban, semirural central Michigan town, outside a predominantly industrial city, where they still live. In the beginning, both parents and children mostly picked vegetables in the nearby fields. Now, several male household heads work in the automotive industry in the city. In general, their various occupations are a mixture of agricultural and automotive jobs, with upper-lower to middle-middle class and status.

Many *familias* in this area, despite their poverty, manage to make the grueling trips back to the Southwest or even to Mexico fairly frequently. The A's, however, returned to San Antonio only once, 5 years after their trek North. After this, they saw only one brother, who died of pneumonia when he came for Sr. A's funeral. They were unable to maintain satisfactory contact because of the illiteracy of that generation.

Sra. A was interviewed in Spanish in the comfortably furnished kitchen of her Victorian-era, two-bedroom home, located in an apparently upper-lower socioeconomic neighborhood. When her husband died 6 years ago, her sons sold the *familia* home situated on several acres farther from town and with the proceeds bought this smaller, neatly maintained home. She is, therefore, able to live independently and to be nearer her sons and daughters, who all visit her about once a week, some more often. She enjoys their telephone calls, although she has not mastered dialing so that she can call them.

She is pleased that her grandchildren visit, most of them at least once a month, and some take turns staying with her when she is ill. In fact, one grandson, a 20-year-old college student who visits her almost daily, helped during the interview with names and ages of her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The visits of the little ones, she says, "lift her spirits," even though they speak only English and she only Mexican. Her affectionate term for them is *bolli-itos*. the name of a popular Mexican dinner roll made with bleached flour, and an expression often applied to non-Mexicans.

The interviewers noticed in the parlor at least four dozen framed photographs of various kin, outward symbols of attention that include extra visits when the grandmother is ill and taking her to visit other *familia* members when they are sick. Sra. A is grateful for her children's practical gifts and their collective help in paying utility bills, insurance, or taxes. Although saddened when she remembers the old days when they were all one *casa*, Sra. A hopes that things will continue as they are. She believes that her offsprings' visits are made because they love her and want to visit her. It is especially important to Sra. A that "within each house there be no discord between them."

(The opportunity to reminisce, to talk about her loving *familia*, was a great pleasure to Sra. A. Her mind was clear and active and the experience was so exciting to her that she gave the appearance of much better health than was the actual case. When a bit of tape was replayed for her and she heard her voice recorded for the first time in her life, she was truly exhilarated.)

The Second Generation: The Eldest Son

Sra. A's eldest son, age 52, lives less than a mile from his mother in a neat, clean house which he owns in a community of lower-middle socioeconomic class. He is an inspector in a motor-wheel manufacturing plant in the nearby city and, except for a 4-year-old car and a color television set, appears to have few material assets. Among the framed photographs of all his children and grandchildren, the son pointed out especially the children's high school pictures and his son's athletic trophy. The comfortable furniture is shabby; outside, the house needs a coat of paint. As a former field hand, the eldest son has apparently seen little point in fixing up the yard, which has had no effort wasted on it other than keeping it cleaned up.

Although this son would, by custom, be expected to replace his father in the role of dominance in the *familia*, he does not appear to have assumed that position. Perhaps heading his own family is enough. He visits his mother at least once a week and telephones every other day and usually sees his brothers and sisters every day, either at work or visiting back and forth. Babysitting is a common exchange among them, and they help each other with small loans and assistance in large household jobs. The son expects these enjoyable activities to continue and wishes an even closer familial relationship. He and his wife see their children daily, even the married ones with their children. He hopes to continue these close ties, which make him proud and happy. Their visits are a token that he is still important to them. The children's financial assistance when he is ill for an extended period, or his to them, is an indication of love among them, he feels. Like his father before him, he has always tried to teach his children to respect and help each other.

The Son's Wife

The daughter-in-law was interviewed in Spanish by necessity, unlike her husband, for whom it was the choice. Born in Monterrey, Mexico, she and her mother, a brother, and two sisters came permanently to the States about 1945. She could contribute little about her branches of the family tree—almost nothing about her father, that her mother and aunts and uncles were born in North-Central Texas, and that the relatives still living are scattered throughout Mexico, Indiana, and, mainly, Texas. Every few months she enjoys seeing her Indiana cousins, usually at family parties when they can all arrange to be together, since holiday times are spent with each one's closest composite or lineal family. After a painful 15-year break, the daughter-in-law is reunited with her own mother, with whom she exchanges frequent and enjoyable visits.

The wife is happily and completely a homemaker or, as she terms it, *la alma de la casa*, translated literally, "the soul of the house." During the interview, children, grandchildren, and nieces came in constantly, and other relatives called frequently on the telephone. She is intensely interested in and involved with her in-laws, especially Sra. A. She hopes that the family will always remain *unidos*, but seems to feel that they may not in the future and is sad about it.

The Daughter

Sra. A's second oldest daughter and her husband live in the same town in a rundown, two-story frame house surrounded by a large, neglected yard. This rental property appears scheduled for razing soon, to be replaced by a business area similar to that across the busy street. The dilapidated furnishings, and this couple's whole way of life, may well be explained by the extended illness and unemployment of the daughter's husband.

During the interview, the couple revealed that this was not the daughter's first marriage and that not all of their children were by this husband. The interviewers had noticed during the great-grandmother's responses that neither she nor the grandson who helped her with names and ages had mentioned all of this daughter's offspring and that the old lady had seemed confused about the ones she did enumerate. Since the earlier marriage had been an unhappy one and "irregular," it was convenient to forget it when the family tree was being branched out. The surviving son of the daughter's former marriage lives in San Antonio with his wife and two children. The two daughters live in the nearby Michigan city, with four and eight children respectively.

This present couple's youngest daughter, a student, still lives at home, but the other four, three automotive-worker sons and a daughter who works in a nursing home in the city, all live in separate homes in that city. These four and two unmarried male cousins are the only unmarried children living apart from their parents in all of *Familia A*.

The daughter recalls her youth fondly, especially visiting with her mother's relatives while still in San Antonio and working in the fields and playing with her siblings. According to her account, Sr. A kept the *familia* together and "harmonious," insisting that his children come home on weekends, whether or not they were married and whether they lived away from the hometown or nearby.

In spite of their troubled pasts, this couple seems reasonably contented and satisfied. The daughter visits her mother nearly every day because of that lady's failing health, and she uses this time also to call her own children since she has no phone. She visits these children regularly, often uninvited, and receives visits from them when they come to see Sra. A. She sees her brothers and sisters often--at church, at their mother's home, and at picnics. These occasions, combining present good times and recollections of happy times in the past, are a treat to her. Apparently, this daughter is kept busy babysitting for her own children and for her brothers and sisters and their children. In all, she is happy with her *familia* and their relationship and hopes they will all continue as they are now.

The Daughter's Husband

For this man, born in 1931, 5 years after his wife, and disabled from a number of stomach operations during the last 4 years, *Familia A* is his "real" family. From them, he feels that he has the acceptance, love, and respect he never had before, either in his native Puerto Rico or in the United States prior to his marriage. A source of great pride are visits from the children who live in the area, whether they are his own or not. He is especially happy that these seem to be made from enjoyment, not obligation, and he feels that his attempts to teach the young people not to "lose" their family have been effective. Like Sra. A, whom he loves deeply, he is especially happy when the grandchildren visit, and he is delighted to be called "Grandpa." This household, like the other relatives, has many framed photographs of children and grandchildren, and of Sra. A as well.

When he was 10, the son-in-law was placed in an orphanage by his widowed mother, a cleaning woman, and there he remained until he was 19. He lived with his mother for a short time, then he came to the United States at age 25 and did field work until he could save enough money to join a brother in Detroit. Finally, he got a job using the automotive body-work training learned back home. He even sent money home and, when the Detroit brother died, he helped with the funeral expenses, as apparently no one else did. He still corresponds occasionally with his sisters in Puerto Rico and calls them when he is ill and hospitalized. He feels that they will continue to care about his well-being but is embittered about the treatment from his college-professor brother in Puerto Rico. Apparently his 2-week visit there 12 years ago was shortened because his mother made him feel unwanted and his brother's reception was equivocal, at times welcoming but often scornful. The warmth of *Familia A*, then, is particularly meaningful.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

This 29-year-old man, his Anglo wife and their young daughters live in a new house with swimming pool, on a 2 1/2-acre plot in a middle-middle level area. Their home is on the outskirts of town, near open fields, and only a few miles away from most of the *A Familia* members, who come often to the grandson's home for cookouts and swimming and to enjoy the larger area than they possess.

A welder in the main auto-body plant in the nearby city, the grandson is a pivotal part of his extended family and appears to be a loved and loving father. Except for a younger brother who lives alone, he sees most of his siblings and his parents three or four times a week. These visits are made from enjoyment, not obligation, he says, adding that he also likes to have his mother's Mexican cooking, which his wife can't do very well. He and his wife often call on his parents for babysitting, and he and his father help each other with heavy household jobs and with loans occasionally, too.

He is proud to be the oldest brother, to whom his siblings come for help. This help has included his signature to get loans or small amounts of money. He has, in turn, borrowed occasionally from them, and he and his wife obtained help from her parents when they were first married. The grandson misses these requests as his brothers and sisters grow older, but is proud that they have done well and that he has been instrumental in their achievements. Actually, he is afraid that he has been too free with advice and scolding, although sometimes not severe enough. He has been happy to help them but does not want them to "take advantage" of him.

He visits his grandmother about twice a month and sometimes helps her move bulky objects. His memories of his grandfather are particularly warm, perhaps because he recalls their working in the fields together during his teen years. He and his father, with the aunts and uncles, bought property in the country so that they can hunt and fish together, and they have built a cottage there. The "club" they have formed, with monthly dues and regular meetings about the use and maintenance of this property, is apparently more important to the grandson than to the son, who did not mention this connection with other *familia* members. The young man feels that his relationship with his aunts and uncles, whom he sees about twice a month, is good and will remain unchanged.

The Grandson's Wife

The granddaughter-in-law, 29 like her husband, was expecting their third child within a few days after the interview. She is a fourth-generation "Anglo-American," of German and English stock with a large family connection which has moved into the middle-middle class. The interviewers noted that there was never any reference to this difference in "class" or "race" but only to differences in language and cuisine.

The young couple see her relatives on a few holidays, which the A's understand and accept, and keep in touch with her family's activities during monthly visits with her parents. The grandson's wife enjoyed the frequent contacts with extended family members when she was younger and misses them, but feels that now they all have much less in common. Of the future, she thinks that perhaps their friends may be as important to her and her husband as their relatives.

This young woman is busy with her children and teaching geography and history to seventh and eighth graders. She sees neither her mother-in-law nor Sra. A as often as her husband does but is more comfortable with her mother-in-law in any case, since they can converse in English. The relatives who belong to the hunting club are frequent companions, especially during the hunting season, when, according to her, "The husbands and boys hunt, and the women and girls cook." The couple cooperate in the usual babysitting and report that their children look forward to being with their cousins on both sides of the family. The granddaughter-in-law thinks she should learn to speak Spanish better, and she appreciates her in-laws' patience and understanding with her present inability.

The Granddaughter

This 32-year-old mother of eight, the eldest child of Sra. A's second oldest daughter and her first husband, is a school-bus driver and lives in a home she and her husband are buying in the city in a lower-middle-income housing development. Her husband's 20-year-old nephew, who has just begun working in the city, is at present a member of their *casa*. The granddaughter was raised by Sr. and Sra. A and feels like a sister to her aunts and uncles who were growing up in the same home, although she is not as close to her own brothers and sisters as she otherwise would have been. She is especially close to a cousin who was also raised by their grandparents and writes often to her now that the cousin is living in Indiana. The granddaughter is confident that the families will be even closer and frequently includes some of her many cousins, nieces, and nephews in outings with her own children.

Her love for her grandmother is very special. The granddaughter visits her every weekend, when she also sees many other relatives, especially her mother. Her vacation visits to her own father in San Antonio are a mixture of pleasure and homesickness. Since her husband's family does not celebrate holidays because of their religious practices, these occasions are spent with her extended *familia*.

The Granddaughter's Husband

The grandson-in-law, the only non-Catholic reported in all of *Familia A*, has a large and complicated family tree of his own. Most are step- and half-brothers and sisters from his father's three marriages, and all, apparently, are on the best of terms; they turn to this young man for advice with their problems since he is the oldest. He adds, though, that he and his wife try to solve their own problems without going to members of either *familia*.

In 1965, when he was 28, he came directly from Mexico on a permanent basis to work in the fields around the town. Now a maintenance sweeper for a large automotive plant, he has somehow managed to save enough money to assist his own *familia* members when they are in need and has even sent his aged grandmother in Mexico enough money to rebuild her house when it burned down. This is one of the *familias* which travels back to Mexico frequently, and visits the many cousins and especially the uncles who raised the motherless boy with warmth and kindness. These visits are important to the grandson-in-law and his children, as are the frequent visits with the Michigan brothers and sisters and their father. The couple regret that they do not see the granddaughter's older relatives as often as they did when they still lived in the smaller town and before the children were so busy in sports and other events with their peers.

Prototype *Familia*

In many ways, this large, 141-member clan is highly typical of that aspect of Mexican-American culture known as *familia* at its most traditional, possibly because of its semirural, extraurban ambience. Close-knit and devoted—*unidos*—cousins, and aunts and uncles of the same age group, for that matter, interact like brothers and sisters. In-laws, especially females, are drawn into the intense relationship of the network. There is reflected here an emotional interdependence which, especially for the older members, satisfies most of the individuals' recreational and social needs, visits and larger gatherings being an important part of daily and weekly life. The sense of obligation to each other, to help in times of economic trouble or illness with small loans, household services, or child care, appears to stem not only from the sense of duty instilled in early childhood but from voluntary desire and strong emotional attachment. In general, most *familia* members hope to continue this involvement *along with* entry into the economic and social mainstream of their locality.

Their Faith

With the exception of one third-generation in-law, the *familia* members are Catholic. Their faith and their church are an integral and accepted part of daily and weekly life, although only routine ritual participation for some. Family bonds are strengthened further when godparents are chosen for christening, First Communion, and confirmation. Dr. Sena-Rivera says, though, that this custom is not as strong as it is nearer the border or in Mexico itself, where the "fictive" kinship, the practice of "claiming" relations through godparenting, is also still strong.

Marriage and Divorce

Familia A reflects, also, changes in patterns of marriage and divorce. A shift toward intermarriage with other groups is rather noticeable among them. From the one "out-marriage" out of eight marriages in the second generation, the daughter's second marriage to a Puerto Rican, to nine out of sixteen marriages in the third generation, eight to Anglos and one to a Cuban, the trend is striking. Striking, too, is the assimilation of most of these spouses into the warm interaction of the *familia*.

According to Sena-Rivera, *familias* in his study were in one respect not typical of many that he knows about: There were no common-law marriages among them. Only Sra. A's daughter had what was apparently a less than "formal" marriage. Serial marriage is quite acceptable, and divorce is no longer frowned on. As Sena-Rivera sees it, usually divorce "has meant that they haven't lost anything. In most cases, the children stay within the *familias*. It's an in-law, usually a male, who leaves. The divorce is not with the son, the blood line, so the daughter keeps the children. And apparently, when there is intermarriage or marriage with a divorced person, a man brings his own children, who are gladly accepted into the extended family."

Language and Assimilation

The grandson articulated a concern about a trend he has observed in *Familia A* and among his friends in the Michiana area when he expressed his regret that so many younger generation members know so little Spanish. In fact, the interviewers observed that given names in the fourth generation have been Anglicized when they are not actually non-Spanish.

Sena-Rivera has noticed change in his own group in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. He adds, however, when speaking of both customs and language, that at present, with the huge numbers of Mexicans and other Latins coming in, there is still a good deal of language retention. Referring particularly to the Los Angeles area, he remarks: "They come across into LA now and work in small industries directly for Mexicans or at least for Mexican foremen, and shop in Mexican grocery stores. Even big super markets have Spanish clerks . . . . Now the burden is on shops and restaurants who serve these people rather than on the minority struggling to make their wishes known in English. This change has taken place in less than a generation. Now social services in LA have Spanish-speaking personnel and signs on buses and in public buildings are in Spanish; there are TV stations which are Mexican and there are other bilingual programs. Particularly the churches now have the masses and other services in Spanish, so there's not really a great deal of need to de-Mexicanize yourself."

As Sena-Rivera reflected on this, he mentioned that some of the bilingual programs work but that many of them are simply devices for assimilation in a bilingual, bicultural civilization. Certainly it has been found among other groups who are making their way into the mainstream of American life that satisfaction is greater and alienation less among those who have achieved a bicultural balance, by retaining much of the old while assimilating much of the new. Sra. A's grandson sees this as a goal for his generation and his children's.

Grandson A sees other changes which should take place. While cherishing memories of the older generation and loving relationships with them, he feels that the younger generations of Mexican Americans should be more "independent" and less traditional. Friendship with Anglos should be fostered, he believes, and younger Chicanos should make an effort to participate in and enjoy things which their parents did not (or could not), such as travel and dating alone. Chief among the interests to be promoted is sports, the grandson's own personal delight.

The "Nonpersons"

A strange custom appeared during interviews. Usually, several interviews were necessary to fill out the branches on each family tree, and occasionally a few branches were not leafed out completely. "Somebody would crop up here and somebody there, and we'd try to straighten them out. What's a child doing over there in that household? He was born over here."

And in the case of a couple of families, "all of a sudden you realize there's somebody who isn't even being talked about, and the person is declared almost a nonperson."

There was never any attempt to intrude or to probe more deeply than the family members wished to go. The interviewers were struck by the firm, quiet refusal to reveal information about a recent or imminent rupture in any couple. In the cases where someone had, seemingly, "disappeared," clues came only from comparing conversations and interviews among the various persons interviewed in the same *familia*. Females and their children involved in divorce had apparently rejoined their own extended families.

This kind of mystery first showed up in *Familia A* when Sra. A neglected to mention some of the daughter's children, and only later did the interviewers learn that the A grandparents had actually legally adopted this granddaughter. It was this same granddaughter who mentioned one uncle who did not visit with anyone because he has "set himself apart." Later, the interviewers realized that this was the individual who had refused to see them. The mystery remained closed.

Sena-Rivera said, "I didn't probe to find out exactly what these people had done that was so wrong that they were kicked out of the family. Since it was sensitive, the only way we found out was from a word here and a word there; then from different interviews we put the mystery together." He has observed that mental health practitioners who are not of or very close to this ethnic group are not likely to appreciate what being cut off in this way means, nor to understand how this diminishing of identity can destroy an individual and his sense of self.

Familia B: 71 persons, 26 households, of urban-industrial, mostly blue-collar orientation.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandfather

> Senor B, described by his interviewers as "an introspective, uncomplaining, philosophical man of striking calm and personal dignity," was reading a Spanish-language Bible when the interviewers arrived. He and his wife are Baptist converts, the only ones in the family. Although literate in his own language, he has mastered little English and was interviewed in Spanish in the upstairs flat of their two-unit house.

In 1921, after several bitterly hard early married years in Texas, the Bs migrated to this small steel-industry city in Indiana, across the State line from Chicago. Sr. B worked 3 years past retirement at 65 to finish paying for the modest but well-maintained house, situated 20 yards from one end of a railroad yard overpass and next to a small ironworks plant. This neighborhood once had many young Mexican families in it, since they considered it a good place to raise their children. Now, it appears to be mixed black and "Latino," the local term for mixed Spanish-origin people.

The great-grandfather was born in Mexico City in 1893 to a maid and a textile-factory worker, orphaned when he was 10, and placed in a government orphanage with his 4 siblings, since the few relatives still living were unable or unwilling to take them in as was the custom. The orphanage was a good one, according to Sr. B., and he and his brother learned linotyping, the brother's lifelong profession and Sr. B's source for odd jobs since he retired from his job as a foundry worker. Soon after the two brothers' age forced them to leave the orphanage, they feared conscription due to the Revolution. Since Sr. B was unable to find a secure job he decided to try his luck in the United States and, in 1911, when less than 19 years old, he paid a small fee, showed his receipt, and walked across the bridge from Ciudad Juarez to El Paso, Tex.

Sr. B has maintained contact with his brothers and sisters in Mexico, writing and sending money "when they said they needed it" and once receiving money from a brother so that he could visit Mexico City. He misses the vacation trips there or to Baja California to visit Sra. B's sister. Sr. B regrets that his descendants and their relatives in Mexico have no contact with each other and blames his offspring's lack of interest on the fact that not all of his 44 grandchildren and none of his great-grandchildren can speak Spanish.

He is grateful for his progeny's frequent visits, which he feels are voluntary. Proud that he has never needed to ask for their help, he has sometimes helped them although there were times they did not want him to. Occasionally, he has paid small debts for them without informing them. In his view, respect and obedience are the basis of "harmony" in the family, and he has insisted on this for his wife and, "if they wish," for himself as well. A key to this man in his *familia* is his wife's repeated comment to the interviewers that Sr. B was "a good man," which meant to them that he was kind and gentle, not a drinker, and provided as best he could.

The Great-Grandmother

In 1912, when she was 15, this lady married Sr. B, who "treated her right," and began with him their struggle for survival. Even though they lost three of their children before the age of 3, and Sr. B was able to earn no more than 10 cents an hour in his various jobs in Texas, Sra. B was happier than she had been for many years. Motherless shortly after her birth, Sra. B and her siblings spent 4 happy years with her paternal grandmother, then went with her father and his 15-year-old bride to Texas, where jobs were difficult and pay small. When he was killed by a train a few years later, the young stepmother signed away claimant rights and returned to Mexico, taking her baby daughter and Sra. B's brother and older sister. She placed 6-year-old Sra. B and the other sister in a Catholic orphanage in San Antonio.

In the orphanage, Sra. B received only a year of kindergarten, the extent of her schooling. Her fondest memories were of several yearly events in the month of May when the children were allowed to go into the deserted street in front of the orphanage at 4 in the morning to run and play, a freedom Sra. B loved. They all looked forward to that one month, when they were also treated to a trip to the circus and to an early morning walk to the old San Antonio Mission where they had breakfast.

After about 2 years, when she was barely 9, Sra. B was "adopted" by an Anglo family who had assured the nuns she would be treated like a daughter. Actually, her many duties included feeding, dressing, and bathing the invalid father. She had to sleep on a mat rather than in one of the extra bedrooms and was severely beaten when the guardians were not satisfied with her work. On the second occasion that the coachman's kindly wife reported the beatings to the orphanage, an interpreter came so that the little girl's story could be told to the English-speaking nuns, and she was returned to the orphanage.

When the stepmother and her new husband regained custody of the children, the younger girls were put to work for "Americans" as household helpers. From this experience, Sra. B learned English well, a boon ever after for herself and her *familia*. Because of her miserable childhood, she and Sr. B legally adopted and raised two grandchildren whose parents were divorced.

At the time of the interview, Sra. B was trying to recover from the amputation of one leg below the knee. Although uncomfortable, a bit deaf, and suffering from some lapses in memory, she viewed her present life with contentment because of her husband's devotion, her children's frequent visits, and her religious convictions. She wishes only that she were not so dependent on her husband and oldest daughter, who cares for her daily. Sra. B states that she has tried "to teach all of them to do what's right and not to bear any grudges."

The Second Generation: The Daughter

This woman, widow of a Mexican-born steel worker-mechanic, still has her unmarried eldest daughter, a clerical worker, her four school-age children, and an 18-year-old niece in her *casa*. Her days are filled with babysitting for a small grandson and taking care of Sra. B, but she finds time to enjoy her children's and grandchildren's frequent visits and the twice-weekly visits of most of her brothers and sisters to their parents.

The daughter feels that her *familia* is harmonious and always will be. Indeed, she is confident that her children will remember her teaching respect for their elders in *casa, familia* and society-at-large. She remembers with pleasure the huge assemblages of her younger days, at a park or a hall rented for the occasion, and arranges holiday gatherings at her "big house." Her daughter-in-law, who sees her mother-in-law every Sunday because that lady likes to get all her offspring together as often as possible, commented: "Like she usually goes out of her way—she makes *flautas, mole, enchiladas, menudo*. Then she calls everybody up, and everyone goes over. If someone can't make it, she feels real bad. She likes to get everyone together every so often, you know. For Christmas, all the sisters-in-law and daughters help her make a whole lot of tamales. We exchange gifts, all of us. It's a close family. Real close. The Grandma and Grandpa are there, too. Thanksgiving and Christmas at her house . . . . She does a lot of the cooking, but we all bring something . . . ."

The Son-in-Law

The Bs' son-in-law, husband of their third youngest child, was interviewed in Spanish in the couple's well-kept duplex, in a neatly maintained neighborhood of solid lower-middle or middle-middle economic level, over the viaduct and about a mile from the Bs. Five children live at home and four elsewhere. A 23-year-old daughter, an elementary school teacher in this city, was especially interested in the study. She and her father tried to persuade her very shy mother to be interviewed. The mother's older sister, to whom she is very close, was instead the other respondent for her generation, a fortunate circumstance for the study in view of that daughter's pivotal position in *Familia B*.

The son-in-law's example of family interaction has been consistent and strong. He maintains close ties with his relatives, and goes to Mexico several times a year to visit his siblings, whom he has often helped with medical expenses and in other ways. He and the brother who lives nearby see each other nearly every day, and their children's friendship for each other is a source of pleasure to these men. His children's and grandchildren's visits, even the babysitting he and his wife do, bring this man satisfaction and joy. He gives the impression that these interactions and the frequent visits with his wife's family are voluntary and enjoyable and will continue.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

This 23-year-old man is a maintenance worker at the city's largest steel mill where many of the men of *Familia B* work. He lives with his wife and small son in a one-bedroom apartment in a nice-looking, four-unit building among several good ones on its side of the street, along with several commercial buildings and a bar. Across the noisy street are a number of small industrial plants.

The grandson sees his mother once every week or two. He gives her a small portion of his paycheck and, with his siblings, contributes to larger gifts, such as a washing machine or other labor-saving appliance, at Christmas. He visits the grandparents about once a month, with phone calls in between, and takes them places when they need rides, a service he frequently provides for his mother-in-law when she delivers her Avon products. Babysitting, as well as occasional loans of money, usually comes from his in-laws. He seems to make little effort to see his relatives except while at his mother's but wishes that they were closer and plans to make more effort in the future. He also wishes, he says, that he and his brothers and sisters "would talk seriously about what is going on with them" and not be content with "just having fun together."

The Grandson's Wife

Fleeing from an "overly strict, jealous" husband, this young woman's mother brought her to the United States from their native Guadalajara and raised her in this city. The granddaughter-in-law sees her mother often, stays with her when her husband is on the night shift, and talks often on the phone. Her relationship with her mother-in-law is frequent and loving and especially warm with her husband's younger siblings. This young woman revels in the closeness of her husband's family, and her dream, when they can afford it, is to go with her husband and son to visit her mother's relatives in Mexico, which she enjoyed when she was younger.

Of her son's future relationship with his *familia*, she says, "I think just how we visit all the time; as he gets older, it's going to blend into his heart that he's going to want to. And they give him a lot of love. I don't see how he wouldn't want to, you know . . . ."

The Granddaughter

This young woman, a 27-year-old bank clerk, lives with her husband and son in the carefully furnished downstairs unit of a converted two-story house on a well-kept street occupied by people of apparently lower-middle income. The adopted married grandson of Sr. and Sra. B lives upstairs. Busy and striving to be independent, the granddaughter does not see her relatives often or talk on the telephone with them, unlike many of the others who spend a great deal of time this way. Her son is taken to his grandmother's and picked up by his father, so that this former interaction between the two generations of women is curtailed. Both parents are pleased that their son has this opportunity to get to know his grandmother and the great-grandparents; it seems not to occur to them to pay for this service, however, in spite of that lady's need.

The granddaughter gives the impression of needing the *familia* continuity and emotional ties; she says that she enjoys being with her relatives and has no outside friends. She is especially concerned that she visit her grandparents at least once a month, even though she cannot really communicate with her grandfather. Of Sra. B she says, "My grandmother's a wonderful person. There's no one like my grandmother. She's the best person I've ever known, and I'm glad that my son is over there every day."

The Granddaughter's Husband

This police detective is a third-generation Mexican-American whose parents were born in Iowa. The father, a railroad worker like his own father, brought his family to this city where some of the other men of the family still work in the steel mills. The young man's mother, who visits them about once a month, is a home-demonstration agent for the Indiana University extension service. He visits her occasionally and sees his younger brother, a welder, who lives in a nearby city, about twice a month. He sees his younger sister, who is a high school friend of his wife, and her husband more frequently, since they get together often to play basketball. Otherwise, he is mainly concerned with his immediate family and, like his wife, he indicates that, as a couple, they prefer to be independent and that their chief interaction is at large gatherings of the *familia*.

Las Chicanas

The remarkable women of *Familia B* epitomize, for Dr. Sena-Rivera at least, the strength of the countless women, Mexican and Mexican-American, who have borne children, prepared tamales, enchiladas, and all the rest for countless *familia* members, and worked side by side in the fields with their husbands and children. This kind of life has been the historical lot of these women on the estates of the *padrones* in Mexico and on the lands of Texas, New Mexico, California, or Midwest farmers. At the same time, apparently, most of them have managed to buttress within their *familias*, as an integral cornerstone of their culture, the image of male dominance, in spite of the low social and economic stature of their men. Quotations given below, from comments made by some of the B women to the interviewers, well illustrate their lives and their forceful personalities.

Sra. B, herself, exerted great influence on her family because of her strong maternal control and her fluency in English which, despite her illiteracy in both Spanish and English, aided her in dealing with an Anglo-dominated world. The help to her family in this one area alone was immeasurable and, further, she had no language barrier to separate her from third and fourth generation members. Her will was indomitable and her devotion tenaciously directed at saving her progeny from the poverty and unhappiness she knew in her childhood and from the deprivation of her early married years in Texas.

Her ambition for her family is reflected in her granddaughter, who said during her interview:

> I think I'm better off than my brothers and sisters . . . and once in awhile I hear someone say, "Well, you've got money to do something." I do, but they forget that I work hard and save. I've been working since I was a freshman in high school. After high school, I went back to my counselor and he said, "Now, you don't want to go to college—you're just going to get married." You know. But I decided to go. First I got a job there (Indiana University, Bloomington), then I enrolled. Sometimes it was really hard—I didn't have any money. But I would never call my mother. I don't know if it was a sense of pride or because I didn't want to impose on her—she didn't have anything.

Loneliness brought together the six "Latinos" who were at the University at that time. This girl helped establish a Mexican-American program and is very proud of how well some of the members, including some women, have done. As she added, some of the women "even became lawyers."

She married at age 20, 3 years after her father died, and says of the early years of her marriage: "We started out with zero—nothing. We paid for our own wedding. We saved up for him to go to school because I wanted him to get a degree real bad—that meant a lot to me. We lived in furnished apartments and whatever . . . . He finished his degree in night school . . . ."

Now she is not certain about finishing the 2 1/2 years she needs to get her own degree because of her commitment to her husband and child. But she wants it very much, "just to have it."

The granddaughter-in-law, too, shows the kind of support for her husband that has helped these Chicanos to "make it" in an alien culture and an unfriendly work environment.

> I tell him to be a foreman, you know, or a big shot at the Mill—not just to stay down. Like before, he was an iron worker, and when it snowed, he was laid off . . . . Now he's in the Mill. It's less money than before when he was at the foundry, but there's always work whether there's rain or a storm or not and the benefits . . . . But he had to start at the bottom, in the labor. Two months ago, he took his exam to get into mechanics at the Mill. So, like, I would always build him up—you can do this, just try, you're not dumb. You've got to do that to your husband. If not, they don't think much of themselves—just so they're making money, they're happy. They should try to make more, and get up high, I think . . . .

Discrimination

Sra. B's poignant memories of her husband's work experiences are sadly typical of the experiences of all too many Mexican Americans and, for that matter, of most socioeconomically depressed newcomers to the United States work force. She described his struggles while working for the railroad in Texas:

> All the Mexicans were assigned the hardest jobs, like digging, even if you could read and write—as he can—and were able to handle better work. Why? Because we were Mexican. They wouldn't give us a chance at nothing. There were many abuses . . . . Some of the foremen were very mean. They would see that you were marked down at the store for more than what you bought, and you always owed more than you made. That's not fair . . . .

In the memories of the great-grandparents of *Familia B*, discrimation extended beyond the work place. As Sra. B remembered it:

> Life for the Mexican was pretty hard . . . . It was almost like for the colored. There was a lot (of) discrimination. They wouldn't allow you to eat at a table with a white—they would separate you. Once I went to meet my husband in another city. In the morning I went to a restaurant by the station to have breakfast.

> Now, I am pretty light and I can pass. They served me. When I returned to San Antonio with my husband, we stopped at the same restaurant. They saw my husband is Mexican. They wouldn't serve us up front. They wanted to serve us in the kitchen . . . .

Sra. B added that things had not been too different for Mexicans where they now live. She said that her husband had always had to work at the hardest jobs in the steel mills, under unhealthy conditions, and that he was never steadily employed or for many days a week. Sra. B then added, lest she make the one "white" interviewer feel uncomfortable, "I owe no grudges . . . I take things as they come—as God sends them."

Employment

In regard to the employment problems of the Mexican Americans, as with a study of illegal immigrants which he hopes to do, Sena-Rivera is afraid that his study, while good and valid, may be used against these people. "You can manipulate family associations, particularly emotive tendencies, to get at the various members and manipulate them even to hold down the work force," he explained. "Even these individual laborers say that. This person will stick with the job because he has greater responsibilities to a wide range of people. They can make greater demands on him than on another worker. I've seen that. I've heard 'white' employers speak in those terms: 'I'd rather have a Mexican worker because I know he'll be steady and work for less, because that money has to go to a lot of people.'"

While agreeing that many immigrant groups have met with similar difficulties, he added, "Our bad luck is that we came at the end of the Industrial Revolution, so that as a group we are locked into that stage of history that we can't get out of . . . . And even if we were able to move up, it's in categories that don't make that much difference. Like in academia . . . it's high prestige, but it's still a middle-class occupation in our society . . . Each group has had to work its way in our country; that's true, but here, now, the average person has to work much, much harder."

Familia B in the third generation has a number of exceptions to the blue-collar caste of the older members. In addition to the police detective grandson-in-law and his clerical-worker wife, that generation includes a computer programmer, a musician, a telephone operator, a bilingual teacher, a secretary, a bank employee, and a salesperson. Among the other young, adult grandchildren, there are several college and university students. It is hard to say whether they are feeling at their age the constraints of their time and their ethnic group, of being "locked in," as Sena-Rivera describes it. Whether fuller entry into a bicultural world and emergence of more of the women out of the *casa* and into the working world will make a difference in *familia* life is a matter for further study.

Of this *familia*, the interviewers noted that they "did not receive any sense of being-at-the-bottom or depression from any member for living in this or similar neighborhoods and especially not from Sr. and Sra. B. At the same time, we do not wish to convey the impression that various members of *Familia B* are not desirous of, or not working toward raising, their present socioeconomic status."

Changes

The grandson's perceptions are interesting. In his interview, conducted in English with much Anglicization of Spanish surnames, he made distinctions among his relatives, calling anyone born and raised in Mexico "Mexican." To him, "Chicano" stands for those born in the States but who "think like a Mexican," and "Mexican American" means those of Mexican descent who "think like Americans."

The propinquity of most of these poor slum houses to their neighbors and the enforced propinquity of their numerous occupants to each other certainly do not epitomize the American Dream. They are not the Dream pictured in glossy magazines or on the ubiquitous television, whose aerials project from every tenement. But the always-room-for-one-more hospitality for other members of *familia* has been an assurance of the enduring qualities of the Chicano kin network. Will these qualities endure unchanged?

The Third Generation members of the *B Familia* who were interviewed indicate a possible drift. There is an embarrassment about inadequate space and enforced closeness which may interfere with the old hospitality-despite-inadequacies. The granddaughter, who wants to continue the large gatherings at Christmas, at least, like the all-*familia* party she went "all out" for the previous year, is looking for a larger house because "I don't have the room" to entertain adequately. The grandson indicates that he does not visit his siblings formally, or they him, except for calling on his next-older brother who has just bought a house where, the grandson feels, visits now will not be an imposition.

Transmission of Values

Familia B, throughout its generations, demonstrates well the transmission of values. The fathers in all of the *familias* in this study have been instrumental, in both precept and example, in teaching respect and obedience to one's elders and love and volition in helping all *familia* members. In addition to reinforcing these principles, the mothers have been largely responsible for teaching moral strictures and proper behavior to the young women of the *familias*. The B's granddaughter-in-law reported the lessons from her Mexican relatives, especially her own grandmother:

> Not to take the pill! Take when God gives me a child, not to abort it, and to have as many children as he wants me to, you know . . . . Respect—respect for your elders, respect for your Mom.
>
> I always had to respect my Mom and I did! She brought us up real strict, like the Mexican custom. Like my husband couldn't come into the house for the longest time while we were dating! She just didn't want him in the house "unless he wants to marry you—is going to ask for your hand." I'd say, "Well, Ma, we're not living like that any more," and she'd say, "While you're under this roof you are!" But then he proved himself, like there was no hanky-panky, and he didn't get me pregnant or anything so after 3 years, she let him come into the front (enclosed) porch! We had a little color TV there to watch together. We went together for about 5 years before we were married and he was finally allowed inside the house.

She said her husband, who told her later that he wouldn't have married her if she had been "easy" and that he was glad her mother had been strict with her, would be strict like that with his own daughters. His viewpoint does not entirely reflect the trend reported for some third-generation members, who are trying to adapt to different dating patterns, among other more "American" ways.

(Since the interviews, Senora B has died. The interviewers were of the opinion, when talking with the *familia*, that the group appeared to be at a crucial point in their cultural continuity. Senor B did not give the impression of stimulating enough emotional reaction alone or of having the material resources which might compensate for that lack. They feel, though, that the daughter who has been with her mother at the center of visits during the older lady's illness and the granddaughter who appears to want to continue the larger family gatherings may be able to carry on the role as the *familia* focal point.)

Familia C: 23 persons, seven households of metropolitan central city, mixed blue-collar and other occupations.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandfather

> In 1917, when he was 22, the now-81-year-old head of this *familia* came to the metropolitan center in Michigan where the *familia* still lives. This retired automotive worker spends most of his days and nights cheerfully looking after his invalid wife. The interviewers were impressed with his gentle dignified manner and the fact that he was not embarrassed to be doing women's work; they noted as well the emotive interdependency of the couple.
>
> Their home is old, spacious, and reasonably well kept up, on the first floor of a two-family dwelling that they own. Throughout the years, the upstairs flat, with its separate entrance in the back, has been occupied successively by other *familia* members: Sra. C's parents, an aunt and her husband, a patrolman grandson and his wife, and now a newly married granddaughter and her Irish-descent, automotive-worker husband. The C's older daughter and her husband live next door. where Sra. C's childless sister and her husband, both deceased, had lived. The C's other daughter and her *casa* are not far away. The neighborhood is largely of Mexican and other Latino families and appears to be low income, in a blighted central city area adjacent to a freeway which split up the old neighborhood and the Catholic parish.

When one of his brothers was conscripted during the Mexican Revolution, Sr. C and 13 other similarly threatened young men started walking toward the States, having heard that they could find some kind of work there. After nearly starving going over the mountains toward Guadalajara, Sr. C finally arrived in Texas where he worked for a few years before coming to this city in Michigan. While in Texas, he was able to send money back to his brothers and sisters, some of which was repaid by the brothers who came to Chicago.

Sr. C often calls his brother who is still living in Chicago; they rarely visit together anymore because of the brother's and Sra. C's physical conditions. There is almost no contact with the brother's children, since they are young and busy and "very proud." The great-grandfather of the *C Familia* finds his greatest delight in the grandchildren, the youngest of whom stop in nearly every day for treats, and in his great-grandchildren, who are often brought by for visits.

The Great-Grandmother

Like her husband, Sra. C loved working in the fields during her childhood in Mexico. She still remembers the days there with her parents, a grandmother, and her brother and four sisters. The family was sufficiently well-to-do that Sra. C nearly completed training to become a teacher and included French and shorthand in her repertoire. In 1920, after her grandmother died, Sra. C, her parents, three sisters, and a related couple with five children joined the post-Revolution exodus to the States to work in the sugar-beet industry. Eventually they settled in this small western-Michigan city.

Sra. C never completed her teacher training as she had hoped to do. She and her sisters got maintenance jobs in hotels in the city and worked in the fields in the summer. She met Sr. C in this city, and after they were married they settled in their present place. Fortunately, they remodeled the house into two independent units so that Sra. C's parents could live there. Shortly afterward, the father became a invalid, never to work again, and had to depend on Sr. C and his other daughters and their husbands for financial support and on Sra. C for help in caring for him.

Because of a loss of motor control, which has caused several injuries, Sra. C must use a wheelchair and walker, and requires almost constant care. Her life is brightened by the attention of her husband and the frequent visits of her daughters and their husbands and offspring and the cooked food they bring. The patrolman grandson, who conveniently works in their precinct, stops in often, as do the granddaughters and the great-grandchildren. The Anglo grandsons-in-law come frequently, too, and each of them has brought his mother to visit. A great source of pride is the fact that all of her offspring speak both Spanish and English. She is proud, too, to show off the many framed photographs of her *familia* members.

The Second Generation: The Daughter

Sra. C related proudly that this daughter was the first "Latino" to graduate from the city's Catholic high school. A former secretary and presently office manager in an airmail service firm, the daughter and her husband apparently make an upper-middle-class income. Their home is beautifully furnished, far better than the exterior and the neighborhood would suggest.

The couple travel frequently to many parts of the world, especially to Mexico, and hold the *familia* gatherings at their home several times a month for first cousins and her closer relatives. The entire lineal *C familia* gather at her home for Thanksgiving and once at Christmas she held a dance, with a live band, for them.

Her intensive interaction with her relatives includes seeing her parents daily and her sister almost as often. Her younger daughter, recently married and living in the apartment above the Cs, is her mother's office assistant. The patrolman son and the practical-nurse daughter and their families visit often, and the daughter frequently takes her adored grandchildren on outings. In addition, she manages to keep up with her mother's relatives in this city, her father's "very proud" nephews and nieces in Chicago, and her husband's family in Mexico.

The Daughter's Husband

This "dignified and somewhat formal man" met the Cs' older daughter when she was on a vacation trip to Mexico City and took her back there after their wedding in Michigan. They lived there for 8 years, where he had a business and where their two older children were born, and returned to this city in 1951. He is now sales manager for a large St. Vincent de Paul store.

The husband feels close to his in-laws and visits often; both he and the other son-in-law heartily endorse their wives' assistance to the old couple during Sra. C's illness. He is apparently supportive of the parties which his wife gives for her *familia* and thoroughly enjoys the visits of his children and grandchildren. Before his brother's death, he visited him yearly in Mexico, giving financial support as well. He sees his two sisters often during their visits to his home, the last being for his daughter's wedding, or during travels with his wife. A principal concern, he says, has been to assure the education of his children to save them from the hardships he knew as a young man.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

The daughter's only son, a veteran, and a police patrolman for the past 5 years, chose that profession after getting the impression that he was being passed over for promotion in a previous occupation because he was Mexican, so his wife said. Interestingly, he gives himself this designation, rather than Mexican American or Chicano. Since he is proficient in Spanish and English, he is often called on to interpret at work, as is his medical-aide sister, a matter of great pride, not only to Sra. C but to her son-in-law, who insisted that his children know both languages. This young man enjoys contacts with his aunt, sisters, and cousins, whom he "likes to kid around with," and wishes the visits were more frequent. He adds that he wishes they had done more things together when they were younger. Now he seems particularly pleased that his son and the son's cousins are developing a strong relationship, visiting back and forth and "sleeping over." His aim is to inculcate in his son the same respect for, honesty with, and politeness to the aunts, uncles, and grandparents that he himself learned as a child.

The Grandson's Wife

This quiet 25-year-old woman, a medical technologist of mixed Italian and German heritage, and her husband are raising their son in a modest, middle-middle-level neighborhood of tree-lined streets and brick bungalows. Although she is busy with her job and homemaking responsibilities, she sees her own and her parents-in-law several times a week, taking Sunday

> dinner with them and having her mother-in-law baby-sit occasionally. She has only pleasant memories of living with her husband's family when she was first married and of their stay in the apartment above the grandparents. Now, she corresponds with some of her mother's relatives and tries to see her brother and his wife more often. Meantime, she is concerned that her son get to know both sets of his grandparents and the C great-grandparents.

Traditions and Changes

Except for their lack of male descent lineal heirs, *Familia C* exemplifies many of the attributes considered typical of this ethnic family group. There are the physical propinquity of three of the households, the interactions both emotional and dutiful, and the occupational assistance.

An additional evidence of interdependency is the drawing of the sons-in-law and so far, apparently, the grandsons-in-law, into the intensive, warm family interaction. This has occurred even though Sra. C has always believed firmly, so she indicated, that a woman's obligation must be first to her husband and children.

It remains to be seen whether the ties that bind this *familia* will hold after the great-grandparents die and the more affluent daughter and son-in-law leave the three-household enclave, as it is assumed that they will. Perhaps those ties will hold for a time, at least, because this is the daughter who, after the parents, appears to be the pivotal force in the lineal *familia*.

Spanish Language and the Chicano

This *familia* differs from the other three in the study in a highly significant detail, the transmission and retention of the mother tongue even to the fourth generation. Whether due substantially to the higher education of this particular great-grandmother, the extensive travels and ambition of the more affluent daughter and her husband, or the obvious advantage this ability has brought to the patrolman and his sister, it is hard to say. Perhaps each of these has been a factor. Certainly, the remembrance and frequent use of Spanish has facilitated communication among the generations, even though both great-grandparents do have some knowledge of English.

In "Growing Up Chicano," a chapter in one of his volumes of *Children of Crisis* (1978, pp. 353-354), Robert Coles describes the dependence of the Chicana mother on her own language: "Moreover, they have the Spanish language, a reminder that one is not hopelessly Anglo, that one has one's own words, one's way of putting things and regarding the world, and, not least, one's privacy and independence. No wonder many Chicana mothers, who can speak English easily, if not fluently, and who know full well that their children will be going to Anglo-run schools where English is the only or certainly the preferred language, choose to speak Spanish not just to their young children, but, it often seems, *at* them—as if the sound of the language offers the mother a sense of herself to fall back upon, a certain reserve that causes the child to feel comforted and loved . . . . The mothers, of course, are talking to themselves, reminding themselves that their children may well suffer in the future, but at the very least will not lose their language, their sense of a specific heritage: a religion, a nationality."

The Chicanos whom Coles observed and wrote about with such sympathetic perception live in Texas and other parts of the South and Southwest. Possibly those who migrated to the Midwest found a somewhat more egalitarian climate in which to raise their children and perceived less need for them to retain facility in their language. Perhaps this latter group envisioned a greater chance of upward mobility and thought that chance would be more possible with greater skill in English.

When more research studies of the Mexican in the United States are done, as Dr. Sena-Rivera hopes there will be, the use of Spanish only, English only, and of the two interchangeably should be investigated, with regard to region, socioeconomic class and mobility, and the institution of *familia* as a continuing and viable unit. It will be interesting to determine whether the younger generations of this ethnic group as a whole will find, as other groups apparently have, that the bilingual, bicultural mode is conducive to greater socioeconomic *and* emotional well-being.

Familia D, 58 persons, 13 households, of urban-industrial, mixed blue-collar and self-employed occupations.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandfather

Sr. D, 1890-1968, was born in Nuevo Leon, Mexico, and died in the small, mill-dominated, northwest Indiana city where most of the family still live and carry on the "family business." The interviewers pieced together this extraordinary man's story from the glowing descriptions by his children and included it with the others to complete the *familia* picture.

Sr. D's father died at the beginning of the Revolution. Unfortunately, his widow and 13 children did not have time to divide his extensive lands, with their cattle and goats, orange groves, and sugar cane plantations, to avoid the Revolutionary practice of breaking up large holdings. The lands were expropriated, and the family moved to Monterrey, Mexico, where most of them remain. The sons found work, bought a home for their mother, and cleared their father's debts.

After working at various jobs in an American-owned refinery for awhile, Sr. D was put to running the company's general store. When he realized the opportunities of commercial trade, he decided to go into it on his own and, what's more, to go to the States to try his luck. For a time, he worked in El Paso as a peddler, carrying household wares across the border in a horse-drawn wagon. It was then that he began to court the boss's daughter.

His next venture was to the rapidly growing city of San Antonio. Here he began to learn English. In his clothing store job, he learned to measure for suits and to alter finished garments. Still, he wanted to be in business for himself. News of large settlements of Mexicans in the Chicago area spurred him to go there, and he moved to the small town, now a city, where the family still lives. The courtship continued, with letters and short, sporadic visits.

His first business was a shop for tailoring, dry cleaning, and selling Spanish-key typewriters. There, besides pressing dry-cleaned clothing, he measured for suits, cut them out, and completed the final fittings after the suits were sewn in Chicago.

Theft of his bolts of material and machinery ended the operation at about the time the Depression hit. Being wise enough to realize that people might go without new or mended clothing but not without food, Sr. D determined next on a Mexican foods distribution business.

Then, at age 37, in spite of the Depression and in spite of being broke, he made a quick trip to Chihualma, Mexico, where his former boss' family was then living, and married his 27-year-old fiancee. Even this was difficult. The religious ceremony following the civil marriage had to be performed in secret because revolutionaries were still repressing the clergy.

Upon their return to the place Sra. D. was later to describe as "the ugliest town in the world," they began their family and the family business, which was eventually to provide a substantial living for them and their seven children. The enterprise still provides sufficient financial security for Sra. D that she can give small sums from the proceeds to each child every month.

This business has been a prime focus of family life throughout the years. The children remember the long hours their father worked, late into the night and early each morning, to prepare packages of chocolate and other products for sale and delivery during the day. When the boys were small, they were paid on a piecework basis to wrap products from the basement work area, always after, never during, school. In the summers, before success led to importing more canned delicacies from Mexico, the family would go at 4 each morning to the Lake Michigan dunes to pick and clean tender cactus leaves which their Mexican customers particularly enjoyed.

The oldest son took over when his father became bedridden 4 years before his death. At present, the two oldest sons are in the business, and the oldest daughter's husband is a salesman for the firm. The other two sons sold out their equal shares during a slump. One is buying his shares back; the youngest is in Texas with his family and quite successful in his own business. The daughters never helped much when they were children, since their place was to be in marriage and homemaking. The second daughter, now divorced, has been employed in the business recently, however. The youngest daughter and her husband have their own business, possibly even more successful than that of the family.

Many of the grandchildren have worked in the business from time to time, but, as yet, there is no sign that they are being groomed to take over. Like the senior Ds, the parents of these young people apparently have not pushed their children in any occupational direction. While only 23 of the 33 grandchildren are grown, the trend so far, both occupationally and educationally, seems to be as workers in the industrial labor force rather than in entrepreneurial or professional jobs.

Sr. D's children still relish stories about their father, how he taught them to show politeness and deference to elders and, at the same time, to be bold and adventurous; he used to let them find their own way home from Chicago, transferring from bus to Loop to bus, all the way back to their own city. Sometimes he would send them alone to Chicago, or even to Mexico, to locate relatives and acquaintances.

The Great-Grandmother

Sra. D. was born in Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1900. In reasonably good health, but with some memory lapses, she still lives in the home where she and her husband ended their days together. A young girl lives with her as a companion, but much of her time is spent in the homes of her children. Her oldest daughter arranged that each child visit Sra. D. or take her home on a fixed day and entertain the *familia* with cake and coffee if this day coincided with her birthday or Mother's Day.

This great-grandmother is content with her life and with the children's love for her and for each other. Only the lack of communication between herself and the third- and fourth-generation family members disturbs her, since she understands English very poorly and many of them speak little or no Spanish. Apparently, her own children have not considered this an essential part of their children's rearing as she did. She used to return annually to Mexico, taking one or more of her children and later some of the grandchildren, so that they could see the "homeland" and the relatives there and learn their parents' native language.

Although, as a bride, she missed the trees and green landscape of her childhood, Sra. D set about willingly making a home in the rear rooms of the building where the business was located. At first, there was a mattress on the floor and boards on crates for a table. Her contribution to the business was significant, even though she never worked in the basement or the shop. Her son said, "My father had this machismo. It worked in funny little ways. He 'catered' to my mother. He would take care of bringing in the money; she would take care of the family . . . . Yet her presence was everywhere—the house and the store. She would keep an eye on things, and she even caught the accountant in a serious and suspicious error over the inventory of checks once . . . . Once my father was three payments behind on our large, expensive chocolate-mixing machine (chocolate then being the mainstay of the business). She negotiated partial payments so that they would not take away the machine, and until my father caught up with the payments. This was during the Depression . . . . She did her part in so many little ways . . . ."

Most Mexican children, when they work in the fields or other jobs, give up all or part of their pay to help their families. Sra. D followed this practice with her sons and, supposedly for household expenses, withheld part of their pay from their jobs wrapping chocolate. When business seemed slow, the withholdings increased. The sons now see this partially as a necessity and partially as a device to teach them not to spend all their money as soon as they made it. As each one married, the mother returned in a lump sum whatever amount had been withheld.

The Second Generation: The Son

This unpretentious, friendly man is second to his older brother in managing the business and is active in community affairs. His home is in a middle-middle level housing development, complete with elementary and intermediate schools and near the new city library. The activist civic group he belongs to fought for 10 years for the project, combatting city officials and the economically dominant steel mill which finally found the land for it. His modestly furnished home is large enough for six and has a yard big enough for active playing.

The son interspersed his English-language interview with Spanish when quoting others in stories about his *familia*. His stories of coping and succeeding were funny but pointed, and much of the *familia* history came from his interview. His own history is impressive. He was married at 19 to the girl from down the street and, like his entire *familia*, has become involved in several influential civic and parish organizations, in some of which he is an officer. "Until it got political," he belonged also to the local Mexican-American self-betterment association of business men. As a board member of this national group, he and his entire *casa* were invited to a White House reception when Ramona Banuelos was installed in a high Treasury Department position during the Nixon administration. The *familia* came through handsomely, with an envelope full of money for his expenses, a story which the son still relates with pride and appreciation.

The son said that the monthly parties of his generation, usually held in each other's homes without the children, have almost been curtailed because everyone is so busy. The large, all-*familia* parties, where older and younger members can get to know each other, are scheduled for a public park or a similar place large enough to hold them all, like the party planned for the week after the interviews. The son observed that the *familia* has always been so close and their involvement with each other so complete that, with the addition of their civic membership, they have little time for friendships outside their own group.

The son is happy about his own *casa* and their feeling for each other and their *familia*. There is a busy exchange of hand-me-down clothes, of babysitting, and of children visiting back and forth for an afternoon, a night, or a week. This stalwart *familia* man hopes that these interactions will increase and fears only that he has not taught enough discipline to his children.

The Son's Wife

Interviewed in English but completely fluent in Spanish, this busy housewife is contented with her *casa* and *familia* relationships. When first married, she and her husband lived in an apartment across the street from the family business and the elder Ds' living quarters, so she would finish her housework and go either to her own mother's down the street or to visit her mother-in-law, whom she liked and found "very tactful." She still relishes her many contacts with her husband's family, in visits or "at functions." At present, she and her daughter-in-law next door exchange babysitting services, and there are frequent visits from those who have left home.

She believes that being in a large family has taught her children love and respect and that growing up near their grandparents' house was a positive influence. "Every Sunday everybody was at Grandma's house—all the brothers and sisters and their wives and husbands and their children got to see each other." This experience and the fun of holidays as *familia* occasions formed their ideas about themselves and their relatives, she says.

The Daughter

The Ds' oldest living child, now 48, lives in a neighboring suburb of the city and works as a fill-in bank teller. She was interviewed in English in her home, which is situated in a development of middle-middle income level. Near the garage and back patio were two cars, two motor cycles, and a motor boat. Her two daughters, the older solely a homemaker and the younger a telephone representative, come by with their Anglo husbands and children at least twice a week, sometimes together and often for a meal, sharing babysitting and parties with the daughter's five children still living at home—as the daughter says, the grandchildren "just sort of blend in with my own kids."

Gatherings of the *familia*, especially at Christmas, when all of them celebrate together and share costs and cooking, mean a lot to her. She says she will be glad when she and her siblings can resume their monthly get-togethers; now she sees individual families at birthdays, graduations, or weddings.

Of the third generation, she noted that age pairings among cousins were frequent and their friendships have led to subsequent pairings among their offspring. This goes on among almost all the cousins in the various households.

The Daughter's Husband

This man chose to be interviewed in English and to Anglicize the pronunciation of Spanish surnames and given names although he uses Spanish as a wholesale salesman of Mexican foods for the D business. His designations of ethnicity were Mexican for his parents, aunts, and uncles, and Mexican American for his own generation and his children.

The son-in-law remembers with special fondness his maternal grandparents, who had followed their daughter here, because he was sent to live with them for about a year since they all "didn't fit" in his parents' small house. He liked the arrangement because his grandmother "babied" him. When his grandmother overheard him telling his mother that he was not eager to return to his parents' because he was so comfortable where he was, she sent him back immediately. She didn't want him to lose his *cariño*, or fondness, for his parents.

The son-in-law has been drawn more closely into the D kin network, although his own family of 8 brothers and a sister, 29 grandchildren, and 6 great-grandchildren is closeknit and they all care for their widowed mother with visits and small services. He and his wife spend Christmas Day with his family and Christmas Eve with hers. The two *familias* have been friends since the daughter and son-in-law were children; in fact at about 13 years of age, he became her first boyfriend. As she said, "and my last, but with others in between."

The daughter's husband follows his own father's role model and thinks they all have good relations now "because my Dad brought us up that way where we always get together and discuss things. He always told us that when any of us had a problem to talk it over with ourselves. I think this is beautiful and I have taught this to my children."

Now, although the son-in-law and his brothers and sisters do not need financial help from each other, they often assemble for advice and for weddings, new business ventures, and the like. He indicates that his married daughters and eldest son are close and that the daughters and their spouses often include this son and his dates in social activities.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

This 23-year-old man and his *casa* live next door to Sra. D's son and daughter-in-law in a well-furnished 1-year-old house; he is refinishing the do-it-yourself basement room when off-duty from his job as a railroad switchman. He is happy they chose this property over several others in the development because he enjoys the proximity to his parents and is anxious that his sons and any future children be close to their *familia* and get to know them well. The children of both households delight in visiting back and forth.

As the oldest brother, the grandson is the source of advice, as he says, just what you'd expect from a younger brother or sister. He sometimes helps some of them with small loans, a favor they occasionally return with money from their babysitting or odd jobs (if he is broke before payday). The grandson hopes that things will remain the same between them and is confident that they will. Since his work schedule precludes many visits, he would like more *familia* gatherings, like the one they were all looking forward to the following week. A special recollection is the generosity of his aunts and uncles at the time of his wedding and at a shower for his older son's birth. He feels sure that they would help him financially or in any other way should the need arise.

He regrets that he and his siblings were not spoken to in Spanish and have not learned it well, so that now he cannot talk with his grandmother, whom he sees about once a week. He would like to converse in Spanish but is afraid of offending his elders by unknowingly addressing them disrespectfully with the wrong verb endings, for instance.

The Grandson's Wife

In the interview, conducted completely in English, this third-generation Mexican-descent woman furnished the account of a family tree even larger than her husband's—108 consanguineal relatives and 35 nonconsanguineal. One of her most thrilling memories is of her wedding, when so many *familia* members of her own and her husband attended that only a few non-*familia* friends could be invited to the reception, a situation everyone understood. That night, there was a dance for friends and both *familias*. And all three events were packed.

The granddaughter-in-law visits her parents once a week, sometimes for breakfast after Mass, when her mother serves the traditional Sunday morning soup, *menudo*. The 4-year-old son loves these visits, especially because of an aunt just his age. Except for one nearby household, this wife sees her other relatives rarely, mostly on holidays or at weddings or birthday parties. She sees the parents-in-law every day, occasionally sharing babysitting and excursions with the children. Like friendly neighbors everywhere, they often borrow from each other.

The Granddaughter

This daughter of Sra. D's oldest daughter was interviewed entirely in English, since she cannot converse in Spanish, even though she used to go to Mexico every 3 years with her parents and went twice with Sra. D on her annual trips. Now she says: "My Mom's mom—unfortunately we don't see her as often as we probably should. For one thing there's a speech problem between us because she speaks Spanish and I speak English. I can understand a little bit but that's the main reason we don't see her much. My husband knows nothing of Spanish. We do see her, though, on the big family get-togethers, maybe on the average of once a month, which I know isn't too much . . . ." When her husband is coaching the Little League team, of which one of her younger brothers is a member, she comes more often than usual because the practice field is behind her parents' house. Besides the large *familia* gatherings, she sees some of her cousins socially, particularly if the husbands are friends of her own husband. There are the usual favor exchanges, like using the family truck and giving bridal showers, but, apparently, no other requests for help have been made.

The Granddaughter's Husband

He was born 24 years ago in Chicago and raised there, of the fourth generation of German, Scotch, and other European ancestry, from an immediate family background which appears to be mixed white- and blue-collar. Genuine enjoyment of his relationship with his own family and his in-laws is evident in this young man's account. He is happy about his twice weekly visits to his parents' home, where he sees his siblings as well, and he believes that marriage and maturity have brought him closer to his parents. He said, "What seemed dumb about the way they treated me when I was single, I see now wasn't so dumb." Besides spending Christmas Day with his father's side of the family and summer weekends at his parents' beach cottage, he and his wife and son see his paternal grandparents once a month. They feel responsibility toward these

> grandparents, who live alone in Chicago, particularly because their son is the only great-grandchild.
>
> The grandson-in-law is familiar with his wife's side of the family and is happily getting to know them better, through visits to the parents and, on birthdays and holidays, to the grandmothers. He enjoys these contacts, such as seeing one of his uncles-in-law twice a month at Lion's Club meetings and another occasionally in his work. There are also social contacts with her same-age married cousins and mutual assistance on repair jobs. Things have been this way since his marriage and he does not foresee any change. As he said, "It will go on like this forever and ever."

Predictions

"Forever and ever?" On the basis of a four-*familia* study, Dr. Sena-Rivera is hardly willing or able to make such a strong speculation. For one thing, there are other relevant factors to be tested, especially that of socioeconomic class. *Familia D* makes this circumstance evident since, although it is the most affluent and highest in status of the *familias* studied, it cannot be considered upper stratum.

Sena-Rivera does predict, however, that *familia*, as described in his study, will continue for at least one more full generation. Each generation, he says, tends to repeat with their children the patterns of socialization received in their own childhood. This cycle should carry, then, among the great-grandchildren as adults with their own households, into the 21st century—100 years of *la familia chicana*.

Changes Coming?

Familia D is typical in its intensity of *familia* involvement. It appears atypical, however, in the decline in ambition and economic achievement evident in the adult fourth-generation members. This apparent decline is reminiscent of the Anglo expression, "from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations," not an unusual phenomenon. Perhaps the younger family members have the perception that Sena-Rivera articulated, that their group is "locked in" in the lower and middle class. Possibly, with their *familia* as buffer and refuge from the alienation and boredom endemic in many industrial jobs, plus the added cushion of their parents' relative prosperity, they see little need to put forth the effort necessary for advancement into other occupational fields. It is possible, of course, that they need only greater maturity.

Judging from the individual interviews, this family can be seen as happy, well-integrated, and more involved outside their own group than other *familias* in this study, who reported little activity outside of home, family, church, and work. The individuals who told about their community activity are proud of their engagement in the broader spectrum, but regret that it cuts into their time with the family, their first social group. Undoubtedly, this interaction with people of other cultures will make subtle changes in the Chicanos' perceptions of themselves and their own acculturation. Conversely, the perceptions which these "others" hold of persons of Mexican heritage will be altered as each becomes better acquainted with the other.

SUMMARY

In presenting the sociohistorical studies of four extended families of Mexican descent in the Michigan-Indiana-Illinois region, the researcher has investigated the contribution of the extended family structure and system to the individual's sense of well-being and to the *familia* as a social organization. He has explored this contribution, both subjective and material, within three lineal generations of each *familia* with objective and open-ended questions and limited direct observation. The findings have been charted on individual family trees, with each individual placed as a second-generation member and with each household, or *casa*, delineated within each *familia*.

Conclusions

This qualitative sample has revealed a few characteristics which appear to be constant for *these families* in *this* region:

- Migration from Mexico, largely to Texas, followed economic and political turmoil, repression of the Catholic Church, division of large landholdings, or fear for their lives or of induction into the armed forces.
- The immigrants arrived with some intention of returning to their homeland eventually, as, indeed, many of their relatives did.

- Migration from Texas occurred with news of better economic and working conditions in other parts of the United States and with the hope of finding greater equality and opportunity for themselves and their families.
- Catholicism is taken for granted as a part of the daily lives of these people. (Only one set of great-grandparents and, apparently, one in-law in the sample are non-Catholic.)
- Families are larger in the second generation than in the first because of better and more extensive health care. The norm appears to be holding for the third generation so far.
- The tendency toward out-marriages increases markedly with the generations, and some correlation between out-marriages and upward mobility has been noted. In this group, almost half of the marriages are with non-Mexican-descent spouses.
- The centripetal force of *familia* is notable even in the case of out-marriages since, almost universally, the non-Mexican-descent spouses have been drawn into the Mexican-descent *familias*.
- Upward mobility in both status and socioeconomic class has generally occurred unevenly within generations, depending somewhat on the urban or semirural locale of the *familias*.
- Socioeconomic class appears to work against *familia* integration only for the poorest.
- Dispersal to the suburbs or other more economically and socially favorable areas may, in time, lead to less intensive *familia* integration.
- The value of *familia* to the persons interviewed or to others indirectly observed cannot be overestimated, nor does it tend to diminish with the third generation. Different ways of interacting do occur with the passage of time and the involvement of individual members in work and community life, or with the use of the telephone rather than personal contact, but the intensive interaction goes on.
- *Familia* norms, learned from earliest childhood and practiced throughout life, are emphasized by the value of volunteerism supported by duty, blending desire for interdependence with love and a sense of disinterest.

- Individual *familia* members internalize their own self-fulfillment and self-worth as bound with those of their own *casa* and with the *casas* that have the same internalization of norms and values.
- *Familia* socialization is implanted mainly through example rather than instruction, through positive reinforcement rather than negative reinforcement or punishment.
- Age groups across generation lines in childhood and across status and class lines in adulthood appear to be the primary basis for peer associations in the formation of friendships.
- Obedience and respect for one's elders, regardless of sex or remoteness of kinship, are integral in *familia* socialization, with the younger protected by the older. Adults are viewed according to their talents and learned skills, economic status and possessions, or masculine and feminine role qualities.
- In general, those of the first generation think of themselves as Mexican, often literally in terms of citizenship as compared to cultural practices and affinity to the homeland; those of the second more often consider themselves Mexican-American, denoting a bicultural identity; the third generation has adopted the unhyphenated Mexican American, indicating cultural rather than nationalistic ties to the home country. Among younger members, the label Chicano indicates a rebirth of identification with Mexican cultural values which are considered less materialistic and individualistic than American values.
- Each generation tends to repeat with its own children the *familia* socialization it received in childhood.

La Familia and Mental Health

Internalization of self-worth within the primary social group is seen as basic to the mental health of the Chicano in childhood and, it follows, to the adult, a buttress against feeling poor or different, even alienated, from the larger society. *Familia* is perceived as a place for problemsolving because there is someone to talk to, someone with the same frame of reference.

As Padilla and Ruiz (1973) point out, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed (SSSS) people will probably not refer themselves to Anglo institutions perceived as alien. It is difficult to talk with someone who does not see as normal such prevailing customs as male dominance and female submission, or frequent visits by a son to his mother, for instance. And hospitalization is seen as a removal from the source of comfort, the home and often extended family members.

These things are changing. Cultural isolation is ending. The women's movement, out-marriages, political *movimientos*, and more varied occupations all play their part. Dispersal of the traditional extended family, inevitable in socioeconomic mobility, will have an enormous effect. What will happen then to the traditional supports, a father's advice, a mother's solace, a brother's loan until payday?

More health and mental health facilities geared to people of Spanish language and cultural backgrounds are being established, and more individuals of those ethnic backgrounds are entering the health fields. It can be hoped that these resources and those of the *familia* can be melded effectively.

Plans for the Future

Dr. Sena-Rivera hopes that other professionals concerned with family will view his investigation of *la familia chicana* as a pilot, since he is aware that there are other items of typicality and regionality to study. He says there are larger factors to be considered and quantitative analyses of specific items that need doing.

He would like to do more of these studies himself, in the *barrios* of Los Angeles and in the fields and cities of Texas and other Southwestern States. Did families of Mexican descent bring, and cling to, the *familia* norms there? To what extent? Have the younger generations discovered a bilingual, bicultural middle way for integration into the mainstream? And what about "illegal," or "undocumented," entrants, a whole new group whose traditional supports are in question?

Mexico City, recently classified as the world's largest city, is an area ripe for study. There are street-wise, family-poor "street kids" and whole villages of dislocated, poverty-stricken families there, hoping for jobs and security. Are the old, institutional supports of *familia* life holding up? Jaime Sena-Rivera hopes to find out.

As a beginning, he has put together a master questionnaire which includes suggestions made at a conference which he called in January 1978 on *familia*. "Most of the people who are working on family phenomena among Mexican-descent people" were there. The survey questionnaire is made up of testable hypotheses drawn from his own study and that of psychologists, sociologists, and social welfare people who attended the conference. This questionnaire, Sena-Rivera believes, will provide solid data and the external validity not found in smaller, individual studies. At present, it is being pretested in Detroit by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. After the results are in, the test will be part of a larger questionnaire for national study.

Not Just for Chicanos

Dr. Sena-Rivera sees his work with Chicanos in a larger frame, interesting in view of the proposed head count of Hispanic Americans in the 1980 census. He perceives this *familia* perspective as part of a larger class picture, too. During the 1960s he was very nationalistic. Perhaps working for 2 years in a city in the Southeastern United States where people "were fighting over bones, just absolute dregs," or living for a year in Spain and 2 years in Mexico helped to broaden his view. Now he sees a greater identification of Chicanos with all working-class people and a greater overlap in all class and culture problems. *Family*, in all its various forms, may be the greatest single denominator.

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TRANSMISSION OF PARENTAL VALUES

Principal Investigators: Lauren Langman, Ph.D., and Richard Block, Ph.D.

*Author: Herbert Yahraes**

Probably all thoughtful parents who value certain beliefs and attitudes of their own would like to have them adopted by their offspring. Do ways exist to encourage this adoption or unconsciously to hinder it? What parental traits and parent-youth relationships lessen the generation gap? What factors tend to enlarge it?

These are some of the questions being studied by Lauren Langman and Richard Block, sociologists at Loyola University of Chicago. They have come up with many findings of practical use to parents.

Slightly more than 400 families were studied, each with a young person between 17 and 21. Seventy-five percent of the families included both parents. The fathers' ages averaged 47 years; the mothers', 42. The families were selected by drawing students at random from three high schools in Chicago and three in Orange County, Calif., which is also an urban area. Both in Chicago and California, two of the schools had mostly upper-middle-class students, two lower-middle-class, and two working-class students.

The investigators developed a questionnaire instrument that measured the parents' and the young people's perceptions of a generation gap and the consensus or lack of consensus each generation perceived in such matters as religion, morality, politics, and importance of achievement. Five value indicators measured consensus *perceived* by the young people and by their parents, and 10 indicators measured the *actual* values held by each group. The study also evaluated the relationship between parents and youth and the effect, if any, of childrearing techniques.

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*See note at end of chapter.

SOME WAYS OF REDUCING THE GENERATION GAP

Does the study offer any practical guidance? Does it, for example, suggest what parents can do to avoid or reduce the generation gap? Yes, indeed. Guidance can be drawn from the following findings:

- Some parents were viewed by their offspring as high in verbal warmth. This means that they usually reasoned with their children, gave explanations for parental attitudes and actions, were helpful, and showed that they loved their offspring. When the parents were *high* in such warmth and at the same time *low* in what Langman and Block call *kvetchiness* (a word meaning that a person is often complaining or irritable), the young people, and their parents as well, perceived less of a generation gap. These young people were also more likely to perceive agreement with parental values and tended to prefer jobs calling for considerable contact with other people. Strictness, but little use of physical punishment, and perceived parental self-assurance were also associated with a lower perception of a generation gap but to a smaller extent than the other factors mentioned.
- In the young people's perception of a generation gap between themselves and a parent, a major determinant seemed to be the warmth of that parent. The actual values held by the young people themselves seemed to make less difference. That is, the youth with the warmest parents perceived the least gap. Of course, it should be pointed out that the behavior of the young people may have contributed both to parental warmth and to the lack of it.
- *Moderate* strictness on the parents' part, as viewed by the offspring, was associated with a greater consensus between parents and youngsters.

- When the parents were viewed by their offspring as strict and prone to physical punishment and the mother was seen as self-assured, the young people generally held more conservative values than their peers who had other types of parents. Langman and Block emphasize that this relationship may not be causal; the parental values may be only "one of the many factors that constitute the milieu or the matrix in which the youth acquires his/her values." This is true of the study's other findings and, indeed, of any findings that show a statistical relationship between one set of facts and another. The relationship is there, but it is not possible to say with certainty that one condition actually caused the other.
- The extent to which young people valued achievement, independence, and mastery was less associated with parental rearing practices than with the factors mentioned in the three preceding paragraphs. The way young people valued independence was not associated at all with parental rearing practices. However, when mothers were viewed as high in verbal warmth, then offspring were more likely to value both achievement and mastery.
- Young people brought up in authoritarian families and used to complying with their parents tended to see less of a generation gap than other youth and to report greater consensus with most parental values. Those raised in families holding liberal values reported less agreement with political, religious, and "new morality" values of their parents. These youth were even more liberal than their fathers and mothers.
- When mothers were seen as unsure of themselves, their children's life values were generally more liberal than their own. There was one notable exception: Such mothers and their children both tended to hold conservative views about sex. On the other hand, mothers who were often angry and irritable, as young people perceived them, were associated with more liberal sexual and other values on the part of their offspring.

- Types of punishment seemed to make a difference. When parents used physical punishment, children were less likely to agree with the parents' life goals. At the same time, these children tended to hold more conservative views than other children about lifestyles, including religion, the place of the family, and sex. Odd though it may seem, the moderate use of physical punishment was linked with a youngster's preference for creative work. The kind of punishment described by the investigators as "isolation-deprivation" (being sent to one's room and being denied privileges) showed no consistent pattern of results.
- Children who viewed their fathers as strict saw less of a generation gap than other children and valued a conservative lifestyle. But strictness on the part of the mother was associated with a greater generation gap than that perceived by other children. It was linked, too, with greater conservativeness in matters of sex and religion and with a higher regard for creative work.
- Parents who were seen as self-assured had children who perceived less of a generation gap than other children and showed greater agreement.
- Regardless of social class, a high degree of family interaction, with young people participating with their parents in conversation and numerous other activities, was significantly associated with more conservative values. [If, then, you wish your children to grow up holding many of your relatively conservative values, engage them in activities with the family.]

In sum, parental warmth and self-assurance, as viewed by the children in late adolescence or early adulthood, tend to be associated with a smaller generation gap. Parental strictness and self-assurance, as grown children view them, are also associated with the offspring's conservative views about preferred lifestyles.

Langman and Block emphasize that in determining the degree of consensus between parents and offspring, they depended upon what people actually said; they did not probe the unconscious "internalization" proposed by psychoanalytic theory or the mechanisms of other theories about why people behave as they do.

IDENTIFICATION AND OTHER FACTORS MOLDING VALUES

Young people can identify with—and therefore model certain views and behavior after—any one of a variety of persons. To measure identification, the youths studied were asked who their most influential role model was in matters of morality, politics, religion, and values in general. Subjects were given a list of possible models: father, mother, both parents, siblings, cousins, teachers, friends, themselves, and no one in particular. ("It may very well be," the investigators say, "that our measure of identification is in fact a measure of conscious attribution rather than a measure of identification per se . . . . Our measure does not tap unconscious identification or behavioral imitation.")

Young people who said that their models were fathers, mothers, or both were said to have made *lineal* identification choices. Those who chose members of the same generation were said to have made *collateral* choices. These latter included "myself" and "no one in particular"; in fact, these two categories included more than three-fourths of the collateral choices.

A few of the findings:

- Young people who identified lineally (that is, with one or both parents) were significantly more conservative in their values than the others, were more willing to respect and obey authority, and held somewhat more orthodox religious beliefs. These young people saw less of a generation gap than those who modeled themselves after their peers or after no one in particular. They were more likely than the others to agree with their parents on goals, political and religious views, and attitudes toward drugs, sex, and morality. In sum, they were more conservative. However, there was no relation between identifying with one's parents and the extent to which one valued achievement. Finally, people who identified with their parents tended more often than others to describe their mothers as warm and slow to anger.
- Social class was significantly related to liberal values; the higher the class, the more liberal the attitude. But the choice of role model was just as important as social class. Moreover, social class had no effect on this choice.

- Collateral identification—that is, with members of one's own generation—was significantly associated with more liberal attitudes toward authority, sexuality, and religion. People who identified with their peers were more likely than others to want jobs where they could be creative and independent.
- With respect to political values, those who chose a parent or parents as models tended to be more authoritarian and less progressive. But the effect of choice of models on one's political beliefs was less sharp than in the other cases.

In sum, "those who chose a lineal-role model," the investigators report, "were significantly more conservative . . . ."

Incidentally, with respect to what the investigators call "the new morality," having to do with attitudes about sex, drugs, and morality in general, only about 60 percent of the young people agreed with their parents. But 90 percent of the parents thought the two generations were in agreement on these subjects.

Differences in values between parents and children, Langman and Block add, result in part from the "structural characteristics" of today's society—such as social class and generational status. They also result from differences in the socialization practices of parents, including types of punishment, and from young people's choice of models to follow. Those who took a parent as a model held values significantly closer to their parents' than those who modeled themselves on peers, siblings, teachers, or someone other than a parent.

Langman and Block suggest that one aspect of alienation may be differences in values held by parents and young people. These investigators imply that those factors which foster value differences between generations allow younger groups to establish new standards—and thus "made possible the Reformation, the rise of Protestantism, capitalism, industrialization, and now operate to usher in postindustrial society." Langman and Block add: "We would hope, for example, that our society endures long enough for those who consider war as an extension of foreign policy (Clausewitz) and arms' production as economically useful, to be replaced by a generation with different 'alienated' values." These investigators call "not only for more empirical research on the specifics of value transmission or discontinuity but *a balanced view of alienation as the precondition of freedom*." [Emphasis added.]

FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

Religiosity or orthodoxy of belief seemed to play an important role in the passing on of traditional family values. The greater the religiosity of the young people, the more they agreed with parental views, and, therefore, the smaller the generation gap they perceived.

Further, only in the case of religiosity did parental values explain most of the differences found among subgroups of the whole sample of more than 400 young people. The mother's values were the more influential. Where the mothers were more orthodox than average, their children tended to be also. When the father's views buttressed the mother's, this tendency was even more pronounced. Oddly, though, when the youth with the more orthodox parents were broken down by social class, those in the middle class rated *higher* in religiosity, and their beliefs were more conservative than those in the working class. This finding held *only* for the youth with more orthodox parents. In general, the higher the social class, the more liberal the religious convictions. The results indicate, Langman and Block suggest, that social class in and of itself, at least for religiosity, is no great predictor of values.

Some other findings in regard to religion:

- Middle-class youth who viewed their parents as models to be followed—in other words, those who identified with their parents—were more orthodox or conservative in religious matters than those who identified with their peers.
- Atheists, who were the most liberal, perceived the least agreement with their parents' politics, religion, and views of the "new morality." Those who had stayed in the same church or synagogue as their parents perceived the most agreement with their parents in those respects. About 7 percent of the sample had gone from one religion to another and were found to be far higher in religiosity than those who had not changed.

- College students and "explorers"—those of college age who were traveling or "just screwing around" (still unsettled in a career)—were less orthodox than the workers or the high school students. Lowest in orthodoxy were those with "kvetchy" fathers. Both strictness and leniency (but not moderate strictness) on the part of the fathers were associated with greater orthodoxy on the part of the youth.

What do these findings about religiosity add up to? Parental values, Langman and Block answer, strongly affect a youth's religious attitudes.

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CLASS

In general, the higher the social class, the more liberal the values of the parents and the youth. The upper middle class, whose jobs required autonomy, independence, and flexibility, held more liberal social values. Members of the working class, "whose adult jobs stress conformity and whose families constitute the major area of social life," were found to be more likely than the others to value authority and traditional family values such as restrictive sexual codes. They also tended to show "higher religiosity."

. . . [children] view further economic gain as less important than being free, independent, and creative.

The *differences* in values between parents and young people about authority, family, sexuality, and religiosity, the Loyola investigators found, were greatest in working-class families and least in upper-middle-class families. Although working-class youth tended to be more liberal than their parents, these young people and those in the lower middle class held more conservative attitudes than those in the upper middle or middle classes.

As for the parents, those in the upper middle class stressed the values of achievement, mastery, and independence the most; working-class parents, the least. The young people, though, regardless of social class, showed no significant differences in the achievement values they held.

In occupational values, both the young people and the parents in the upper middle class esteemed most highly the creative and independent aspects of work.

What about such matters as pay, promotion, and security, which the investigators describe as "extrinsic reward characteristics"? Among the fathers, there was no difference in the high values ascribed to these factors. Among the mothers, though, the ones in the upper middle class placed the *least* value on this dimension—and their children were like them. These reward aspects of the job were emphasized significantly less by upper-middle-class young people than by their fathers. They also stressed these aspects less than the other young people. Those whose economic security has been well established by the father apparently place less value on it; that is, being more secure, they view further economic gain as less important than being free, independent, and creative.

INFLUENCES OF SOCIAL CHANGE CAUSED BY MIGRATION

Langman and Block report that there have been two hypotheses regarding the effects of geographic mobility. "The first suggests that when people are uprooted and find themselves in new communities in which the 'established' social networks are themselves recent and transitory, the rootlessness predisposes the population to a myriad of social movements." These include extremist politics, religious cults, and unorthodox schools of psychotherapy. According to the second hypothesis, however, such rootlessness actually "fosters *greater* solidarity within the family," because the family then becomes "a bastion of stability and support in an alien world."

Because the investigators' sample was divided between young people and their families in the Chicago metropolitan area, where economic growth and population expansion have been relatively stable, and Orange County, Calif., the second fastest growing metropolitan area during the decade from 1960 to 1970, Langman and Block were able to test these hypotheses. Both were unsubstantiated. In general, the values and perceptions of the young people had been little affected, either by where they lived or how long they had lived there.

But there may have been some effects. For instance, the youths who rated highest in their views of sexual permissiveness were the California natives, and the most conservative young people in this respect were the migrants to California. "Why this is so," the investigators comment, "is not easily explained." Still, some of the forces at work probably can be seen in the findings that immediately follow:

- California fathers were slightly more liberal in their sexual views than Chicago fathers. (This was true for the mothers, as well, but the latter difference was not statistically significant.)
- Native California fathers were more liberal in their views than those who had been born elsewhere but moved to California. Presumably, such differences in parental views rubbed off on the children.

There were other interesting differences between the two groups of families. California parents, for one thing, were more oriented toward achievement than were their Chicago counterparts. Moreover, California parents placed less emphasis on extrinsic rewards, such as money, and more on intrinsic rewards, or those coming from within.

DIFFERENCES IN VALUES HELD BY THE OLDER AND THE YOUNGER GROUPS

One of the study's major interests was the consequences of the different life patterns followed by young people after high school. In one aspect of this work, the older group, which had been out of high school for 3 years, was divided into three subgroups: those who were working (39 young people), those who were attending college or other school of higher education (66), and those who were traveling or "just screwing around" (16). The values held by members of these groups were measured immediately after high school, 1 year after, and 3 years after. Each time, those who were working were more conservative than those in either of the other subgroups. Those who were going to college, traveling, or "screwing around" were significantly more liberal. The investigators say this was because they could take on diverse roles and postpone their choice of career. Thus, they could be more concerned with "individual choice, freedom, and flexibility."

No statistically significant differences occured in any of the three time periods between those who were working and those who were still in high school and about to graduate.

Among the older youth, those graduated from high school 3 years earlier, most of the individuals tended to value achievement. This was so no matter if young people were working, attending college, or just "exploring."

There were, then, two main forms of what the investigators call "status passage": work and postponement of work. And which one a person chooses has "significant consequences" on the values one holds. The researchers suggest that "entry into the labor force is a foreclosure [that is, it limits the extent to which values change] while the alternative choices . . . constitute a suspension of foreclosure in which opportunities exist for diverse role-taking experiences." A major effect of the college or traveling pattern seems to be the greater opportunity for abstract thought and speculation during the crucial adolescent years in which values are crystalized.

As might be expected, the social class of the parents affects whether or not an offspring goes to work immediately after high school. Children from working-class families are more likely than others to enter the labor force. True, a high school graduate from a working-class background may hold such values that he or she will insist on a higher education (or traveling or "just screwing around"), though this is often not the case. However, the investigators came up with other findings that complicate the matter. What a young person does after high school *is* related to the social class of his parents, and working-class young people hold more conservative values than middle-class youth. Experience *after* high school, however, affects a young person's values—and quite *independently* of his or her social class.

After graduation, a young person's current activity is significantly related to his or her values independent of the original social class. In other words, several factors are at work, and the direction of their effect is not always clear. If specific individuals were studied for a long period, factors such as social-class origins might be found to be the most influential ones affecting values in some young people, while in others the experiences after high school or the choice of role models might be the major influence.

THEORIES ON HOW VALUES ARE ACQUIRED

Studies by other investigators through the years suggest two theories concerning the acquisition of values. One theory can be called "structural location." This suggests that the family "as a location in the social structure exposes the person to a particular set of rewards which often result in parents and youth having similar values—but due to common location." Values are not enduring qualities of the person, this theory suggests, but may change as the person is exposed to other groups with different values. The family can teach only that a person should conform to the values of the particular segment of society to which one belongs, or that a person should be sensitive to the need for changes in the way society functions.

The other major theory of how values are acquired is termed "psychosocial mediation." This suggests "that values are internalized in the course of a person's development." Values that have been learned early in childhood through one or more of a variety of means, including identification, modeling, role taking, and reinforcement (or being rewarded for behaving in certain ways) become a person's enduring qualities.

The present study, Langman and Block report, cannot support either theory. "Rather, both views must be considered within a more comprehensive framework that we might call a 'psycho-structural perspective.'" The findings of this and several other studies, Langman and Block believe, suggest that such structural factors as one's social class, one's generation, and, for sexual values, one's sex, represent certain ranges of possible values. For example, membership in a higher social class was associated with more liberal values. But within any class, identification with one's peers rather than one's parents was associated "with more liberal lifestyle values, more preference for creative jobs, and less concern with the extrinsic rewards of the job."

Only within the ranges of structural factors such as the ones just mentioned do individual differences in such matters as the parent-youth interaction, identification, life course, and religious status affect the person's values. And, the investigators add, there are complex interactions of these variables.

FINDINGS CONSIDERED OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE

Langman and Block consider certain of their findings particularly important. One is that there is only a low relationship between the actual values held by parents and youth and the way the two groups perceive the gap between generations. For example, a youth may hold values similar to his or her parents' and still perceive a wide generation gap—wider, usually than the parents perceive. It was the *quality* of the parent-youth relationship rather than the values held that explained the perceived consensus.

Other conclusions considered particularly important by the investigators:

- Parental qualities as experienced by young people *here and now* are a better explanation of the young people's values than the way the children were brought up. In fact, the investigators question that early socialization practices, at least as they were recalled by parents and children, have any lasting consequences "except in the extremes of parental withdrawal and aloofness that border on neglect or physical punishment that approaches child abuse."
- The person or persons with whom a young person identifies have an important influence on that person's lifestyle values.
- ". . . if parents wish to act as effective socialization agents, the most important factor seems to be the degree of interpersonal warmth, which in our study includes the use of reasoning and explanation, and acceptance of the child."
- Parental anger, complaining, irritability, and the like, summed up as "kvetchiness," lead to reduced feelings of mastery in the offspring and to differences in values between parent and child. It may also lead to behavior, such as drug use and poor school performance, that gives the parent additional excuses to complain.

- ". . . parents and educators must . . . realize that values change and normative social change will be especially evident among adolescents. We are *not* suggesting that parents condone hedonistic, drug-oriented sexual promiscuity and the abandonment of achievement values. Rather, we find that if parents are more accepting of the youth, [undesirable] values are less likely." However, parental acceptance of the young person "may very well require acceptance of his/her values that may be more liberal than the parents'"—particularly when youths enter the college subculture. "It may very well happen, and usually does, that such youths develop new moral codes and liberalized lifestyle values," adaptive to the current realities of the youths' social world.
- Finally, "Our data suggest that if the parents are high in interpersonal warmth, low in 'kvetchiness,' and sure of themselves, the parents will be more effective in passing on many of their own values."

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PREPARATION FOR CHILDBIRTH AND PARENTING

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Man, woman, child. The combination is compelling in its simplicity and, until recently, its near inevitability. But for many modern couples, the formation of a family is no longer inevitable. In a world of ready contraception and abortion, the decision to move from dyad to triad is likely to be a well-thought-out one.

The apparent control most young marrieds exercise over fertility, however, tends to obscure the rather basic changes that follow the initiation of a first pregnancy. Preparation for a birth, especially that of a first child, brings into relief a variety of unprecedented stresses. Pregnancy requires a couple to start making re-evaluations of their formal roles. Relations between them invariably must be altered and lifestyles changed to accommodate a dependent third party. Egalitarian ideals, held by so many husbands and wives, are tested by the birth of a child. Women, who up until the baby's arrival may have worked and experienced all the accompanying freedoms, find themselves performing unpaid domestic labor exclusively; or they may attempt the difficult task of integrating outside work with motherhood. Breastfeeding imposes real constraints on the physical equality of the sexes and on the mother's mobility. Worries mount over the adequacy of personal resources needed for being a good parent and money needed for raising a family.

The joy of conceiving and giving birth, even to a wanted child, is often tempered by such concerns.

Dr. Doris Entwisle, Professor of Social Relations at The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, and her colleague, Dr. Susan Doering, a postdoctoral fellow at that institution, have been conducting pioneer research into the sociology of the emergent family (Doering and Entwisle 1977, Entwisle and Doering, in preparation, 1979). Their sample consists of 120 couples having a first child. Their research is a fusion of multiple interests, as mothers themselves of several children, as professional social scientists, and in Doering's case, as a founder of the Baltimore Chapter of the Prepared Childbirth Association.

They point out how little work has been available on the emergent family unit despite the predilection of many sociologists for studying family structure and functioning. The dearth of information on that period of "metamorphosis" when a two-person group suddenly changes into a three-person one is all the more curious when one notes that society tacitly acknowledges the high degree of strain first childbirth imposes, even on normal couples. Showers are given to relieve financial difficulties. Parents and friends become solicitous, offering their assistance at least during the immediate postpartum period.

Sociologists are also wont to study the family at critical junctures in its life cycle, and first pregnancy and childbirth are such prototypical crises. Unlike other types of crisis, such as death of a family member or job loss, it is much easier to examine than others. Because first pregnancy usually requires the couple to make major readjustments, it may well set the stage for later successes or failures in meeting the expanding challenges of childrearing and family living. In the long view, the outcome of the crisis it precipitates can be seen as a foundation for family coping.

It seems obvious that planned births are more likely to result in wanted children and happy parents than unplanned ones. In their sample, Doering and Entwisle find that most births are planned ones. Despite this apparent good start, childbirth and early infant care can be viewed as more complicated than previously. While friends and relatives are often available to assist for short periods of time after a birth, their *sustained* support is usually lacking. Because they often live far away or have other commitments, such assistance is difficult to provide, except in times of great need. Many young parents have little or no experience in tending new babies until they bring home their own. The investigators note that among their sample there is a devaluation of the advice that grandparents offer. The older generation is judged harshly, its counsel viewed as outmoded. Many young parents today see themselves as having to evolve their own childrearing styles, perhaps in response to what they perceive as rapid and constant changes in their social environment.

Birth usually takes place in an institution. The obstetrician has replaced the local midwife as birth assistant. Hospital staff rather than close friends are likely to assist the laboring mother. While hospital births are not new, obstetrical innovations and dramatic increases in minor and major medical interventions may make birth seem a feat of technology, thereby decreasing its personal significance.

Even while science is providing more extensive medical methods and devices, couples are beginning to demand greater say in determining the quality of the birth experience. Because fewer children are born to each pair, birth is perceived as an event to be savored and experienced fully. Many women want to *give birth* rather than to be delivered. The increasing popularity of "natural" childbirth and home births attests to this change in attitude.

The hospital, no matter how impersonal it may be, provides built-in procedures that support the mother giving birth and her infant. When the new family leaves this setting, however, they are often completely on their own. Without an extended family to provide support, examples, and reassurance, a couple may be thrust into parenthood with little anticipation of its meaning or consequences.

PREPARATION AND COPING WITH CHILDBIRTH

To conceptualize the stresses that occur even in normal pregnancy, Doering and Entwisle borrow a model of responses to the crisis of major surgery from Janis (1958). Janis found that those patients who experienced little or no fear in advance of surgery and who denied the unpleasant nature of events to follow tended to have difficult convalescences. On the other hand, those who did the "work" of worrying beforehand and whose fears mobilized them to seek information about the procedures they were to undergo recovered well. A third group experienced incapacitating anxiety beforehand. Their recuperative behavior was variable, ranging from childlike acquiescence to belligerence.

Likewise, pregnancy and childbirth can be viewed in this framework. The pregnancy itself is a *threat phase*, during which responses are mobilized to cope with the *impact phase* of labor and delivery. Responses to recovery in the *post-impact phase* are conditioned by quality of preparation.

Stress does not necessarily have negative connotations. The degree of stress and how it is handled determine its significance for the new parents. Properly coped with, stress serves a very useful mobilizing function. But if the parents do not take steps to prepare for the realities of birth, it may be traumatic for them. If a young woman becomes unduly anxious, she may be less able to cope with the physical and emotional demands of delivery and the early postpartum period. If delivery requires obstetrical interventions, such as drugs or forceps, then the woman may take longer to recover. She may avoid sexual relations with her husband in order to escape the possibility of another pregnancy. This in turn could erode the marital relationship, perhaps spilling over into emotional or physical problems for the infant. These and other possibilities exist as results of inadequate preparation for childbirth.

On the other hand, adequate preparation may make the birth experience a more pleasant, personally meaningful one. The laboring woman may require fewer drugs and interventions if she understands fully what is happening to her. Her recovery may be easier, and she may have the strength and resources to turn full attention to the task of mothering her new infant.

A major facet of Entwisle and Doering's NIMH-funded research involves an examination of the effects of preparation for childbirth on labor, delivery, and early child care. In previous pilot work, in which 269 mothers of full-term newborns were studied, Doering and Entwisle (1975) found that those who sought in advance information about labor and delivery required less medication than those who did not. Even more importantly perhaps, the prepared women felt much more positive about their infants during the first meeting than unprepared mothers.

One could argue that mothers who wanted extensive preparation were more motivated *a priori* than those preferring to remain uninformed and, hence, that motivation rather than training was the most important causal factor distinguishing them. However, recent studies have dealt with this issue. For example, in one study (Huttel et al. 1972) one-half of a group of primaparous (bearing a first child) women were assigned randomly to a childbirth-preparation class; one-half were not. The prepared mothers had significantly shorter labors, needed less medication, and showed greater control during labor and delivery. They also felt more positive afterward.

While the applicability of the surgical crisis model to mothers is readily apparent, its utility in conceptualizing the father's adjustment is less so. Although the anthropological and psychological literature contains reports of men who experience "sympathetic" morning sickness and labor pains, obviously, the father does not undergo the hormonal and physical changes of pregnancy and childbirth. However, Doering and Entwisle point out that most men are still primarily responsible for the financial security of their families. A wife's pregnancy, with the possible loss of a second income, makes the provider role all the more salient for them. Men also may have to face, for the first time, the possibility that their mates will be sick or ailing. They must also adjust to lessened privacy in their own homes and at least temporary deprivation of their wives' attentions. And today's fathers are expected to take an active role in caring for their children—a role for which many are ill-socialized.

The responsibilities of men have increased with new movements toward social equality, but their satisfactions with childbirth have remained more or less constant. Whereas even today society deems parenthood a crowning achievement for women, it does not for men. Until recently, fathers were relegated to hospital waiting rooms rather than allowed to participate actively in the birth process with their wives. The Hopkins' study looks to see if a father's preparation for and participation in the birth process have indirect effects on his wife, as well as direct effects on his own enjoyment of the infant and on his fathering ability.

SOME POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF PARENT PREPARATION ON THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INFANT

The coping strategies that parents bring to the crisis of birth may have an impact not only on their individual adjustments and their relationship as a couple, but also on their relationship with the newborn infant. Many scientists think that the parents' bond to the infant starts to form even in the prenatal period, when they begin to imagine their "ideal" infant. Often, the realities of a newborn are difficult to reconcile with fantasies. The time required to form a personal attachment to the infant is variable but is more likely to be a matter of weeks and months than one of minutes or hours. A substantial amount of evidence (Klaus and Kennell 1976) suggests that early contact with the infant shortly after birth is important in shaping the mother's attachment. Such contact is thought to release diffuse maternal feelings that mediate between birth and the period of specific attachment. To benefit from such contact, however, mothers have to be alert following delivery. In this age of obstetrical medication, many are not. Likewise, if the mother is medicated, the infant may be groggy and less responsive to social stimulation. If a mother's preparation enables her to maintain a degree of consciousness sufficient to participate fully in the birth experience, she may have a better start toward building a satisfactory relationship with her baby than a more heavily medicated mother may have.

While the father is not hormonally primed by pregnancy, it is reasonable to expect that he also would be influenced favorably by participation in the birth experience. Participant fathers may feel closer to the infant in subsequent days and weeks.

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

To provide detailed information about what happens to couples during the critical period of family formation and to test some hypotheses about the influence of previous socialization and preparation, Entwisle and Doering repeatedly interviewed the same couples. Women were visited by a female interviewer during the sixth month of pregnancy, again in the ninth month, and a few weeks postpartum. They were telephoned at 6 months after the baby's birth. Husbands were interviewed by a male research assistant during their wives' ninth month and again postpartum. The in-person interviews were intensive, each averaging about 3-4 hours in duration. All interviews were taped and transcribed. From the transcriptions, data were coded and punched on cards.

One goal of the research was to *describe* what goes on during pregnancy and the early period after birth. Since so little was known about families in this stage of the life cycle, even the simplest questions were almost endless. For example, what did the husband and wife worry about? How did they perceive pregnancy? How did they find out about labor and delivery? How was their relationship affected?

A second goal aimed to *explain* what went on. The study's longitudinal aspect, involving as it did repeated measures on the same people over time, permitted the investigation of cause-and-effect hypotheses. For example, the researchers checked to see if couples who felt that childbirth was a rewarding experience had attitudes during pregnancy distinct from those who reacted to the birth experience in negative ways. Because the couples were studied prior to birth, their earlier attitudes were known.

The sample was deliberately not random. The 120 women interviewed were chosen to fit certain specifications of experimental design. All were Caucasian. Half were middle class; half were working class. Class was defined in terms of the wife's father's occupation, on the grounds that experiences in the mother's family of origin might have a more significant influence on her attitudes toward childbirth and her child-care practices than the husband's family experiences. Further, since the couples were young, many had not yet attained the final socioeconomic status that would eventually characterize them. Roughly equal numbers of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews were also represented. As it turned out, class and religion, at least insofar as these factors have been taken into account at this point, were not major influences on findings. In later work, Entwisle and Doering will pursue questions of how class relates to total amount of stress experienced.

Perhaps most importantly, the women were divided into groups based on whether or not they were planning to take childbirth preparation classes.

At first the hope was to obtain equal numbers of women classified into three categories of preparation: none or little, intermediate, and high. However, because of the current popularity of childbirth education, it was hard to find women who wanted no preparation at all. At times, a woman would say during the first interview that she would not seek preparation and then announce later at her 9-month interview that she was enrolled in a training class. Such cases were kept in the sample but switched to an appropriate category. As a result, however, the Hopkins researchers ended up with 29 percent in the lowest category of preparation; 27 percent in the middle category (defined as participation in hospital- and department store-based classes or Bradley classes); and 44 percent in the highest category (Lamaze training in psychoprophylaxis).

The preparation classes were distinguished as follows:

At the intermediate level, some emphasis was given to the woman's active role in childbirth and also to her socialization to the role of "good" patient. At the highest level, psychoprophylaxis involved weeks of intensive preparation physically and psychologically for childbirth, and much emphasis was placed on the woman's very active role in the process as well as the number of options she had. Virtually all Lamaze classes require the participation of the husband as coach.

All the husbands were invited to participate in the study, but only 60 of 120 did so. Of those not interviewed, about half refused to cooperate, and the others had children by previous marriages or were otherwise disqualified. It is not entirely clear why some of the men refused participation. As a check, the cooperative and noncooperative groups were compared on a total of 226 variables obtained from the wives. Cooperative husbands were perceived by their wives as more interested in their pregnancies than noncooperative ones. They were about 2 years younger than the other men, and their wives were more apt to breastfeed. But there were so few significant differences that any occurring could be attributed to chance.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARENTS-TO-BE

In many respects, the prospective parents were much like other national samples of young adults, but in other ways they digressed from groups of college-educated respondents. For example, 40 percent of the women polled reported attending church services regularly, and 59 percent of the couples disapproved of living together before marriage—attitudes indicative of a more thoroughgoing conservatism than that likely to be found among contemporary collegians. None of the women held doctoral degrees or the equivalent, but 10 held masters degrees, and almost all were at least high school graduates. The education of husbands was more variable. Eleven were medical doctors, and 17, laborers. However, the average husband was a college graduate.

The women ranged in age from 18 to 32, with the average age for the the blue-collar group being 23.9, and for the middle-class group, 25.5. Husbands on the average were slightly more than 2 years older than their wives.

Exactly half of the female respondents either planned to continue work until the baby's birth or else did not plan to stop working afterwards. Of the 120 women seen, only nine had not worked at any time after conception. Thus, when the research started, a full 92.5 percent were working or had worked recently—a high rate no matter what group they are compared to.

Almost all the pregnancies (except four) were described by the respondents as planned, either fully or somewhat. Doering and Entwisle note that, if a pregnancy had not been desired, abortion was an easily obtained alternative. Twelve percent of the women reported having had a previous abortion. The average gap between marriage and conception was 2 years. By several indices, the sample exhibited a high degree of life planning and deliberation.

In terms of their sex-role attitudes and practices, the couples displayed an interesting admixture of liberalism and conservatism. For example, when asked which sex had it better in life, 43 percent of women felt that men did, and 60 percent of men interviewed agreed. Fifty-three percent of the women believed that "women's work"—raising children and keeping house—was preferable to most men's work. When asked to rank sources of emotional gratification, women placed outside work far behind their husbands, infants, themselves, and their homes. Somewhat surprisingly, men did not rank work as highly as might have been expected. Out of eight items, they placed work behind spouse, baby, self, and even parents in value. And there were no significant differences in ranking between the middle-class and working-class groups of men. (Wives' estimates of husbands' rankings for the total sample also reflected these trends.) A tentative conclusion is that many of the young men in the sample had not yet made the full commitment to occupation found among samples of middle-aged men, hence their lower rating of careers.

Almost by definition, the sample included a select group of couples who wanted to have children and who were living in traditional marriages. The high value placed on children by the women interviewed contrasts with a survey of college women (Yankelovich 1974) in which only 31 percent ranked having children as an important personal value.

Despite several indications of sex-role conservatism, the sample was liberal in matters concerned with division of household chores. Around the house, there was considerable sharing of chores, a trend perhaps reflective of increased emphasis on social equality between the sexes. A third of the women intended to return to work within 6 months after the baby's birth although very few of them had a great deal of emotional investment in their jobs.

THE COURSE OF PREGNANCY

The importance of pregnancy as a preparation period has been documented by findings linking psychological stress during it and negative attitudes about it to prematurity, repeated spontaneous abortion, extreme morning sickness, delivery room difficulties, and the physical status of the newborn. (See Heinstein 1967, for citations.) However, information relating the psychological state of husband and wife to their role relations (i.e., how the parents' postpartum relationship with each other and with their baby depend on prepartum variables) was nonexistent until the Hopkins study was undertaken. To gain such valuable data for the study, prospective parents were asked about the course of pregnancy: among other things, about symptoms, health, worries, and sex relations.

The Women's Health and Attitudes Toward Pregnancy

The women polled generally reported themselves as having easy pregnancies. Most complaints were relatively mild ones such as being clumsy, not fitting into clothes, and not having the usual amount of energy. The vast majority of women (93 percent) did not believe that being pregnant was the equivalent of being sick, although one in three thought that pregnant women should take it easy. Only one in four reported feeling less healthy than usual.

As a check on verbal accounts, the relationship between reported nausea in the first trimester and stopping work was examined. (Persistence at work is an excellent indicator of highly satisfactory health status.) The relationship was zero. On the other hand, while they appeared to experience few incapacitating physical symptoms, most women did not enjoy the state of being pregnant. In the ninth month, one in four claimed that there was nothing nice about it; about the same proportion mentioned that the only enjoyable aspects were receiving extra attentions or being able to stop work. Only 18 percent expressed any enthusiasm about feeling the baby move or the bodily changes they were undergoing. More husbands than wives enjoyed fetal movements. Doering and Entwisle speculate that such sentiments may depend on whose stomach is being kicked.

The attitudes of the young women toward the pregnant state remind the Hopkins researchers of Victorian ones. During that era, the "Madonna and Child" image was idealized, but the physical changes necessary to produce a child were considered embarrassing or disgusting.

Likewise, the feelings of some of the respondents in the present study seem to be hangovers from earlier views. This is all the more interesting when one notes the bifurcation between private and public roles. Many of the women who dislike their physical condition are the same ones who are committed to working during pregnancy. They seem to accept a modern sex role for their social life but are still influenced by a more traditional sex role for their private life.

What do Couples Worry About?

Worries of the typical couple during pregnancy were quite predictable. The most common concern of wives—about weight gain—was induced by medical care itself, in spite of recent research suggesting that minimal weight gain (15-20 pounds) may even be harmful to the developing fetus (Committee on Maternal Nutrition 1970.) The most common childbirth-related worry is perhaps also the most universal—many women, as well as their husbands, reported being concerned over whether the baby would be born deformed.

In general, husbands reported more worries than their wives, although the content of their concerns was somewhat different. Husbands were most concerned with their wives' aches and pains; many also worried about financial matters. Another common worry was about getting their wives to the hospital on time—a major responsibility of most males.

SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ACTIVITY

Until the present survey, very few studies had examined the sexual behavior of couples during pregnancy; and with one exception (Masters and Johnson 1966), none had asked women or their husbands about ongoing sex relations. Sexual activity can be seen as an indicator of marital closeness or satisfaction. A decline in postpartum sexual activity may indicate adjustment to the arrival of an infant. During pregnancy, a decline may reflect decreases in physical well-being or changes in the couples' attitudes about the role of sex. Entwisle and Doering queried women about fluctuations in sex desire over the three trimesters of pregnancy and about the dates at which sexual activity stopped before birth. Frequent lack of sex desire was reported by 21 percent in the first trimester, but by only 15 percent in the second. Frequent lack of desire again was reported by 26 percent in the final third of pregnancy.

Sexual activity into the ninth month of pregnancy was surprisingly high. At the 6-month interview, 23 percent of women responded that they did not plan to cease sexual relations until labor, and 26 percent said that they would continue up until or part way through the ninth month. In fact, at the 9-month interview, 33 percent had not stopped, and 22 percent had just stopped or were planning to soon. Of the one-third continuing, most were only mildly positive about it.

Considering the fact that most obstetricians and pregnancy manuals until very recently advised couples to stop having sexual relations in the eighth or ninth month of pregnancy (advice demolished by Masters and Johnson 1966, who discredited the myths of more damage to the fetus or more premature births in couples having sex late in pregnancy), the couples in the Hopkins sample appear very modern in their behavior.

SOME ANTECEDENTS OF PREPARATION SEEKING

Since a basic hypothesis of this research was that preparation for childbirth would predict successful coping with the experience, Doering and Entwisle tried to decide which factors would predict who chose training and who did not.

In general, preparation for childbirth now enjoys tremendous popularity. When Doering first collected data on primaparous mothers in the mid-1960s, she had trouble finding women who were enrolled in Lamaze classes. In the present study, Entwisle and she had just the opposite difficulty. Childbirth preparation has almost attained the status of a fad. Women who in earlier times sought training may have been more totally dedicated to its goals than contemporary women, many of whom may be responding to social pressures. On the other hand, the variables that emerged as influential determinants of preparation in the present research possess a certain timeless quality. For instance, a measure of a woman's desire to take an active role in delivering her child was the single most important predictor of preparation, followed by an index of quality of communication between a couple, and the wife's educational level. A high degree of preparation by a wife leads to a high degree of participation by her husband (the two measures are correlated at .59), mainly because training classes, such as Lamaze, strongly encourage husband participation and interest.

THE BIRTH AND IMMEDIATE POSTPARTUM PERIOD

Of the 120 women in the study, 63 gave birth to boys and 57 to girls, including one pair of twin girls. (Two stillbirths occurred after the first interview, and these women were not included in the final sample.) Seventy-six percent of the husbands were in the labor room with their wives at least part of the time, and 63 percent were present in the delivery room. These percentages are somewhat smaller than the percentages of men who had wanted to participate, but they are still high.

Obstetrical interventions were common. Twenty cesarean sections were performed, only one elective. Even for the vaginally delivered women, medical procedures were the norm. About 46 percent had an amniotomy (artificial rupture of membranes). Since fetal monitoring was not a routine procedure when the study was begun, a question about its use was not included for 37 percent of the respondents. Of those answering the query, however, about half reported its use. (Today this percentage undoubtedly would be far higher.) Sixty-four percent of the women did not push their own babies out; forceps were used.

It turned out that the more drugs a woman was given, the worse she felt both physically and emotionally.

Drug administration was reported in all but *7 percent* of cases. Most women received two or three drugs (i.e., Demerol meperidine hydrochloridel and a sedative in midlabor, and then an epidural at 6 centimeters' dilatation, renewed hourly).

In the ninth month, 50 of the 100 vaginally delivered women had expressed a desire "to be awake and feeling everything" at the moment of birth, but only about half of them actually were. Another 43 women had expressed a wish to be "awake but numb." Again, only about half of these succeeded. About 30 percent of the women were confused and numb—something that no one had wanted.

When asked later how she felt *physically* at the moment of birth, the average woman was neutral. (Responses were coded on a 5-point scale with 1 being awful and 5, great.) In order to rate a 5, women had to report such feelings as: "It was great. I felt like I could run around the block." Responses such as: "Lousy. I was throwing up and had double vision," rated a 1. Neutral responses of 3 were just that: "I felt nothing" or "nothing hurt."

Women were also asked about their emotions at the time of birth, and on a 6-point scale the average respondent felt mildly positive (3.80). Mildly postive women said such things as "kind of excited and kind of unbelieving" or "relieved and happy."

It turned out that the more drugs a woman was given, the worse she felt, both physically and emotionally. Drug use in obstetrics is often justified by claims that it *improves* a woman's birth experience. However, the study's results suggest that the opposite is true.

Despite indications that it may be important for the mother-infant relationship, only 53 percent of the women held their babies in the first hour after birth, and 29 percent of them were separated for longer than 12 hours. Women having cesarean sections tended to have the longest separations from their infants. Over half the women reported that they did not care whether they held their babies right at the moment of birth.

Since not all husbands participated in the study, self-reports of reactions are limited to about half the sample. Of the 57 husbands interviewed postpartum, only one was not in the hospital at the time of birth. Another 13 percent stayed in the waiting room. Twenty-seven percent were with their wives for part of labor, 58 percent for the entire labor. Sixty-eight percent of the male respondents were in the delivery room. Being in the delivery room apparently made a big difference in attitudes. Of those men present, 95 percent were positive about the moment of birth; none was negative. However, when they were in the waiting room, only 18 percent felt positive.

On the average, the feelings of fathers toward the moment of birth were more positive than their wives', perhaps because they did not have to contend with possible unpleasant physical sensations or the emotion-dulling effects of drugs.

As with the mothers, the fathers' emotional reactions were coded from transcripts on a 6-point scale. Examples of reactions scored as negative were the following: "Disappointment that it was a girl—but relief that everything was okay" or "I was a nervous wreck. All I could think was: What the hell had happened?" Peak experience reactions were as follows: "As joyful as I've ever been in my life . . . the greatest experience of anything I've ever done . . . ."

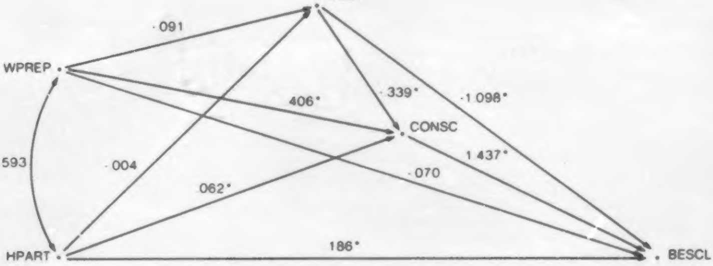
When the interviewed men were asked about their initial reaction to the baby, they were more enthusiastic than the mothers (but probably the most enthusiastic fathers had agreed to take part in the research). Also, many women were sedated. Surprisingly, a larger percentage of fathers (51 percent of those polled directly) than mothers (25 percent) held their babies in the delivery room.

When asked to sum up the whole childbirth experience, men were more negative in their ratings than their wives. Thirty percent were negative or very negative. The *most negative* opinions came from fathers who were not present. Whether their wives gave them lurid reports, or whether their imaginations ran wild, is not known.

PREDICTING THE QUALITY OF A WOMAN'S BIRTH EXPERIENCE

The major hypothesis-testing aspect of the Hopkins study concerned the relationship between level of preparation and ability to cope with the crisis of labor and delivery. Because of the extensive amount of prior background data collected on each couple, researchers Entwisle and Doering were in an excellent position to relate postpartum reports of the birth experience to earlier variables. They devised a multiple-regression model, depicted in figure 1, to explain variability in quality of birth experience. (Multiple regression analysis is a method for explaining variability in a measure based on the relative contributions of two or more predictor variables.)

Figure 1. Predicting Quality of Birth Experience



Two variables, labeled WPREP and HPART, are used as *predictors*. WPREP refers to all sources of a wife's preparation about what to expect in labor and delivery and how to put this knowledge to use. It includes knowledge obtained from books, movies, possible medical training, and preparation classes. (The prediction of preparation level has already been referred to in a previous section.)

HPART, or husband's participation, is measured from a series of items that all the wives responded to concerning whether or not their spouses were present in labor or delivery, how they helped, what their feelings were, and so on. (The men's direct reports could not be used since only about half of the total sample of fathers were interviewed.) As was pointed out previously, the two variables are highly correlated. Furthermore, no other variable correlated with husband's participation to any noticeable degree. Despite a strong empirical association, however, the influence of the two variables can be assessed separately when they are used as predictors in a multiple-regression equation. The separate explanatory power of each can be estimated. Hypothetically, the husband's presence could exert an enhancing effect on quality of a wife's birth experience, independent of her level of preparation.

The model depicted also contains two mediating variables. PAINI is a subjective measure of the woman's own report of the worst pain she felt during the first stage of labor (i.e., during cervical dilatation to 10 centimeters). CONSC describes, on an 8-point scale, the degree of a woman's awareness at the moment of birth.

The ultimate variable to be predicted is BESCL, or quality of the birth experience. It was scored using five items dealing with the following: emotional feelings just after birth; physical feelings just after birth; emotional feelings in recovery room; physical feelings in recovery room; and a a woman's feelings at that point about having another baby. The five-item scores were combined to yield a total score. An analysis of item intercorrelations confirmed that the items formed a single unitary dimension of birth experience.

The model presented shows both *indirect* and *direct* effects of preparation and husband participation. The direct effect of WPREP on BESCL is small (-.070) and nonsignificant. However, the effect of WPREP on CONSC is large (.406), and there exists an even larger relationship between CONSC and BESCL (1.437).

WPREP has no significant influence on PAINI, nor does HPART. However, both WPREP and HPART affect CONSC.

Other models devised, using as sole predictors WPREP or HPART, confirm the finding that a husband's participation makes an *independent* contribution to the quality of his wife's birth experience.

It appears that preparation acts to raise the level of a woman's consciousness. Because she understands what is happening, she requires fewer drugs and medication. Level of consciousness in turn mediates the birth experience and explains the effects of a wife's preparation. However, the husband's presence has an effect, primarily direct, on the quality of birth. Preparation increases awareness, which in turn increases the quality of the birth experience. Husband participation increases quality of the birth experience, directly apart from any effects on pain or consciousness.

UNDERGOING A CESAREAN SECTION

Seventeen-and-six-tenths percent of the Entwisle-Doering sample of primaparas underwent cesarean section, only one of which was elective or anticipated prior to the beginning of labor.

There is good reason to believe that surgery of this kind has an undesirable effect on a young woman who, in addition to having sudden and pressing responsibilities for an infant, must recuperate from a major abdominal incision. Indeed, data from the Hopkins sample indicate that effects are not only negative in the short run but far reaching and long lasting in terms of the mother's psychological health.

As could be expected, the sectioned women felt much worse physically than the vaginally delivered group. Many described their recuperative experience as very painful, and few got out of bed before 24 hours. Hospital stays averaged a week rather than the 3 days common for the other group of women.

There was no relationship between level of prior preparation and whether or not a section was performed. Sectioned women rated the birth experience much more negatively than the other women. On a 7-point rating scale, in which 4 was a neutral point, 1 very negative, and 7 very positive, they described the experience as 2.6, in distinction to vaginally delivered women who, on the average, were slightly positive.

Husbands of sectioned women were also more negative in their ratings of the birth experience than other husbands, but the parents' ratings of the baby's appearance were not significantly lower—perhaps because infants so born have not been bruised or misshaped by the rigors of passing through a narrow birth canal.

Most surprisingly, there was no relationship between the level of a sectioned woman's prior preparation and her rating of the birth experience, whereas for the other women, this relationship was substantial. Major surgical intervention appears to undo any potentially positive effects of preparation. Also, while there was no relationship between the length of labor and the quality of the birth experience for vaginally delivered women, such a relationship was found for the sectioned group. Doering and Entwisle think that sectioned women see labor as ultimately useless, and the longer they have had to endure it, the more negative they are.

The early postpartum relationship with the infant was also affected by section. Sectioned mothers were more negative about holding their babies for the first time and were less likely to persist in breastfeeding them. They were also less likely to mention the infant as a source of happiness in their marriage and less likely to be positive in their reactions to caring for newborns.

Effects continued throughout the 6-month period. The amount an infant cried in a 24-hour period was greater for the sectioned group than the other; and postpartum depressions were significantly more profound. (Postpartum depression was also linked in the study to the occurrence of "lesser" types of obstetrical intervention—the more interventions, the greater the tendency toward depression.) The sectioned women reported that it took them longer to "feel like a mother" than the vaginally delivered women. Further analysis suggested that the usual postpartum problems—infant crying, depression, and insecurity about maternal feelings—are overcome far better by women who do not have to cope with recuperation from major surgery.

The rate of sections for the present sample is high indeed, but it reflects other regional and national trends. In a paper now in preparation, Entwisle and Doering (1979) examine trends toward more cesarean sections. They cite a study by

Gibbons (1976) in Baltimore in which section rates were compared for 1968 and 1973. In these years, 24,618 and 17,178 live births took place respectively, while the absolute number of sections increased from 1,323 to 1,754. Hence, in a period of declining births, the section rate increased from 5.4 percent to 10.2 percent. Gibbons found that the increase in section rates could not be explained by population shifts, such as increases in the frequency of teenage births (a group that may be at higher risk than older women for complications), nor by other factors such as age, parity, gestation length, or race.

Entwisle and Doering examined their sample and found a day-night difference in the frequency of sections. Sixteen women underwent nonelective surgery during the time period between 8 a.m. and 7:59 p.m., and four underwent it between 8 p.m. and 7:59 a.m. The likelihood that such a day-night division would occur by chance is less than .05. Patients admitted during the daytime were more than twice as likely to be sectioned as their nocturnally admitted counterparts.

A possible explanation for the day-night imbalance could be a tendency for patients who are admitted during the night and who require cesarean section to be held until the daytime. However, the analysis does not lend support to this hypothesis. Only five women admitted at night were sectioned during the day, and the earliest of these operations occurred at 9:45 a.m. and 10 a.m. It would seem highly unlikely that women requiring a section would be held over for so long—especially when one of the prime indications for a section is fetal anoxia. Even if the two midmorning patients are included in the evening group, the day-night imbalance still remains 14 to 6.

Some argue that cesarean section may reduce trauma to the infant that could otherwise result from long and difficult labors. Others point out that fetal monitoring (and its supposed sensitivity to fetal distress) is yet another factor behind the increase in cesarean sections. Given these considerations for the fetus and the increased safety of section for the mother, it can even be seen as the intervention of choice.

However legitimate these arguments may be, they still do not explain day-night differences, such as those found in the Hopkins study. Entwisle and Doering suggest that the differences might reflect physician convenience. Patients admitted at night might receive less supervision than patients admitted during the day. In their sample, first-stage labor was significantly longer for nocturnally admitted patients than it was for the other group and also more variable. The possibility exists, therefore, that quality of medical care differs as a function of time of labor.

All but 10 of the Entwisle-Doering patients were private, but another analysis of nonprivate primaparas (Gibbons, unpublished) does not find day-night variance in the frequency of sections. This suggests that a patient's medical coverage may also be a factor in cesarean sections.

In general, there is evidence that persons with higher mean incomes (and better insurance) are provided with more operations for conditions rated low on the necessity scale (Bombardier 1977); and in some Maryland Blue Cross/Blue Shield data for obstetrical patients, there are large differences in rates of cesarean section by type of coverage.

Finally the size of the obstetrical patient population is shrinking. There may be a tendency for obstetricians experiencing decreased patient loads to use more extensive and expensive treatments in order to maintain income. (Bombardier 1977).

PARENT-CHILD AND PARENT-PARENT RELATIONS POSTPARTUM

While many young couples had undergone extensive preparation for childbirth and had enjoyed the experience, few of them appeared to be ready to welcome the baby. When fathers were asked what was the "nicest thing" about the days their wives spent in the hospital, only 23 percent spontaneously mentioned the baby. Fifty-three percent failed to mention the baby at all. When asked a similar question about the nicest thing about the first few days at home, somewhat more fathers mentioned the baby (37 percent). When asked, "Why is your marriage happy?" when the infant was 1 month old, close to half cited the baby as the primary or secondary reason.

Likewise maternal feelings were not automatic. When asked during the 6-month telephone interview when they first "felt like a mother," 10 percent of the women said they had not done so until the fifth month postpartum. Twenty percent said that they had felt maternal during pregnancy or immediately after birth. The average time was about 6 weeks. Among those who felt maternal early, frequently mentioned factors were breastfeeding and the baby's cuddliness. Among those who did not feel maternal until later, the infant's budding sociability and particularly the ability to engage in social smiling were cited. Interestingly, half of the women who engaged in successful breastfeeding (continuing for at least 6 weeks) said that they felt maternal by 1 week, whereas only one-sixth of bottle-feeders did.

For both father and mother, parental feelings were not immediate in all cases. They took time to grow, and the interval after birth before the parent role was assumed varied considerably.

Preparation for childbirth appeared to exert some influence on the quality of the infant-mother relationship. Women at the highest levels of preparation were more positive in reactions to holding the baby for the first time, and they reported themselves as having felt like a mother 1 month earlier, on the average, than did mothers at lower levels of preparation.

For feeding mode, there are even stronger effects associated with preparation. Even when they had expressed an intention to breastfeed at the 6-month prepartum interview, mothers at the lowest levels of preparation persisted for less than 1 week. Women at intermediate levels were apt to give up easily. However, when women took Lamaze training, over two-thirds of those intending to breastfeed continued for 3 months or longer. Women who were most prepared for childbirth were both more likely to breastfeed and also more likely to persist at it longer.

The effects of preparation on other facets of mother-infant interaction are less clear. Trends by preparation level are not found for amount of infant crying, feelings about caring for newborns, postpartum depression, desire for another baby, or ratings of baby as a source of happiness in marriage.

Several relationships between a father's attitudes and his child-care methods also exist. If a man reported himself as very interested in his wife's pregnancy, he was more likely later on to hold the baby and to pick up a crying baby. If a wife said before the baby's birth that she wanted her husband present during delivery, then he was more likely to report the baby as a source of happiness in marriage. Men present during labor and delivery were described by their wives as more fatherly than were men absent by choice. It seems that if husbands were made a part of pregnancy and childbirth from the beginning, they had more positive views of the infant later.

There was also a relationship between how much the husband helped with household chores during his wife's pregnancy and how much he had held the baby in a 24-hour period preceding the postpartum interview. Frequency of diapering was also related more weakly to the earlier division of labor.

This study also yielded some information about the couple's relationship. When asked about quarreling (during the 2-3-week-postpartum in-person interview), only 9 percent of women admitted to frequent disagreements, whereas 91 percent said that conflict was either infrequent or never occurred. However, to an immediately prior question inquiring about disagreements over baby care, 52 percent acknowledged having some. This suggests a surface "honeymoon" period in the marital relationship following birth, with problems denied and adjustments postponed at least for the first weeks. Spouses tended to rate each other close to the "ideal husband" or "ideal wife," but indications of disagreement were present in some childrearing and sex-role opinion items. Also, disagreement between spouses on the number and timing of children increased from before the baby's birth to after. After the baby's birth, women tended to lengthen the time interval they saw as desirable between children to more than the 2.5 years average they reported during pregnancy, whereas men did not change. A substantial minority of women reduced their estimates of the number of children desired, while men again did not.

Hints of maternal stress also occur when comparisons are made between the plans of women to work as described prior to the baby's birth and their actual work experience at the time of the 6-month-postpartum telephone interview. Seven percent were back at work full time, and 19 percent were back part time. Eight percent had tried to work, but had quit; 66 percent had stayed at home full time. Many of the women interviewed were able to return to work gradually and/or were able to bring their infants with them. A large percentage of part-time workers had in-home work so they were not separated from their babies.

Entwisle and Doering note that attitudes toward work and motherhood have undergone marked changes which the present sample reflects. While some women had tried to work and had failed, others had succeeded. Working women were competent mothers. In fact, women who worked were as likely to be successful in breastfeeding as women who stayed at home. However, it is noteworthy that very few of the women were strongly committed to *careers* in the prepartum interview. This lack of commitment, coupled with the assumption of a demanding parent role, may create difficulties as the women continue to try to combine work and motherhood.

SUMMARY

The occurrence of a first birth constitutes a turning point in the personal history of a young couple and in the social history of the developing family. Like other pivotal events, its resolution can dramatically affect the course of the future. As MacFarlane (1977) has indicated, it is "an emotional and immeasurably complex aspect of existence, which means a great deal to the individuals involved, both at the time itself and later."

Childbirth introduces a sudden disequilibrium into relationships, particularly those between the spouses, one which must be resolved. The new equilibrium achieved may or may not be a "good" one for the future functioning of the family. Pregnancy is a time of anticipation and preparation, important to the couple's readiness for birth and parenthood.

A major contribution of the Entwisle-Doering collaboration has been to study pregnancy, birth, and the early postpartum period as events with social-psychological significance as well as medical import and to examine ways in which medical aspects interact with the emotional resources parents can muster. Because birth has so much social significance, its meaning is constantly changing as society changes. Studies which may have reflected attitudes accurately 10 or 15 years ago are probably dated in important ways today.

The evolving nature of the social aspects of birth is seen in differences between the sample Doering gathered in the mid-1960s and the present one. Today, fathers as participants in the birth process are the rule rather than the exception. In the sixties, it was difficult to find couples who were interested in obtaining Lamaze training. Today, such training has reached fad proportions. Also, in the sixties, many births were not planned; but among the couples surveyed in the study, planned conceptions were common. The meaning attached to the birth of a child, and the impact of prenatal preparation on the couple, may differ considerably depending on whether or not the baby was a planned one.

While the sample of 120 was deliberately not a random one and, hence, cannot be said to reflect national trends for certain, intuitively it does not appear unrepresentative, at least of urban couples throughout the country. Despite the changing nature of many aspects of birth, certain occurrences in pregnancy, parturition, the early postpartum period, and certain emotional responses to them probably have a less dated, more universal nature. To the extent that this sample experienced basic fears, joys, and concerns, they may be typical of the overwhelming majority of young couples preparing for birth today.

The couples in the research are very *current* in their desire to place themselves at the center of the childbirth experience. They tended to view birth as a joint undertaking, one in which they wanted to be active, focal participants. Most women wanted to be conscious during the births of their babies; most men wanted to be present with their wives. Couples tended to share household chores during the latter part of pregnancy and the early postpartum period. Many had taken Lamaze training. A vast majority of women expressed a desire to breastfeed their own infants. Husbands had to face new role expectations that they would be nurturers of their infants as well as traditional providers for the family's material well-being.

Such a high degree of planning and participation might lead one to conclude that childbirth is easier today than previously. However, the findings call this assumption into question. Many women in the sample admitted afterward that they had seriously underestimated the physical difficulty of labor and delivery. Fewer of them would agree with the statement that "nature didn't intend childbirth to be a painful experience" afterward than before delivery.

Few couples had experience with neonates. (There was considerable resistance among many couples, even those taking childbirth preparation classes, to getting information prior to birth about newborn care.) Many overestimated the parenting capabilities of their mates. Next to the birth itself, Doering and Entwisle believe that the single greatest source of stress to most couples during the childbirth period is their inexperience as parents. Even though they had held sanguine estimates of their mates' nurturant abilities, they had not anticipated the demands to be made on them by a newborn. In this vein, LeMasters (1957) found that in 38 out of 46 couples, marital crisis was precipitated because they had romanticized parenthood. Many in the present sample placed childbirth itself at the pinnacle of their experience and neglected to learn about baby care. The relentless giving of self that followed was a reality that relatively few had planned for.

The relentless giving of self . . . is a reality that relatively few had planned for.

For a fortunate minority, birth turned out to be a "peak" life experience. For others, it was much less. Even those who had prepared for "natural" childbirth often received mind-dulling medication and were subjected to a variety of interventions, the necessity of which remains questionable. Nonetheless, Entwisle and Doering's data clearly establish the benefits of preparation for women who had vaginal deliveries. Preparation was of no psychological benefit, however, to those who ended up undergoing the major surgical intervention of cesarean section.

On a national level, the generally high incidence of sections and the ever-growing amount of medical technology that is being brought to bear even in "normal" deliveries conflict with popular trends toward the simplification of childbirth.

A recent upsurge of interest in home birth and in the use of midwives as birth attendants indicates an as yet small but growing suspicion of the medical establishment and its role in unnecessarily complicating birth.

While a cardinal principle of obstetrics has been "First do no harm," many young couples (rightly or wrongly) are beginning to believe that obstetrical techniques and hospital procedures may have inadvertently interfered with the normal processes of birth and parent-infant attachment.

Even though in other eras a personage as prominent as Queen Victoria may have welcomed chloroform as a relief from the discomfort of childbirth, today's women often prefer to savor the experience fully. The medical advisability of large amounts of drugs (for both infant and mother) is questioned. Separation of infant from mother after birth is suspected as an interference with the process of bonding that should otherwise take place then.

The research undertaken by Doering and Entwisle has explicated the role of preparation in determining quality of birth and has cast into doubt traditional notions that obstetrical drugs enhance the laboring woman's experience. Importantly, their work adds another piece of evidence to the controversy over reasons behind the rising rate of cesarean section, and it calls attention to heretofore unsuspected negative psychological results of sections on mother and child.

The research provides a look at the new family during its first weeks and months. It shows the reader how some young women integrate work and motherhood, and it suggests that such integration may have no ill effects on the evolving infant-mother relationship. It uncovers indications of a marital "honeymoon" period after the infant's birth, during which couples are as yet unwilling or unable to turn full attention to confrontation with and resolution of the inevitable conflicts that child-rearing will produce. The study shows the inadequacy of most couples' preparation for the critical role of parenting, while indicating that certain early practices (e.g., holding the newborn immediately after birth or breastfeeding) may speed the parent-infant bonding process to the psychological benefit of all parties involved.

The chronology stopped at 6 months after the baby's birth, a time span too brief to uncover many conflicts and many difficulties, and a time too short to test longitudinal hypotheses about relationships between prepartum variables and other outcomes such as the later parent-child relationship. Despite this, however (Entwisle and Doering have 1-year data ready for analysis), the study has already illuminated a most common yet most important epoch in the development of family life.

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FAMILY STYLES OF INTERACTING

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Is there something special about the way family members interact with each other—a something that is separate and apart from how they behave in other groups? Is there a separate psychology of the family that is not just the sum of its members' psyches? How does the family influence its members? Is it possible that its reach goes beyond the regulation of behavior—keeping family members in line—to affect the very ways they see reality? Can a family hold stable, "collective beliefs" that have a major impact on how it deals with society's institutions and life crises? What are the connections between the individual's typical thought processes and the kind of family intellect he or she shares? These are only a few of the provocative and complex issues being pondered daily by Dr. David Reiss, Professor of Psychiatry and Social Sciences at the George Washington University Medical Center in Washington, D.C.

Under an NIMH grant, Dr. Reiss is presently studying family-environment interactions. His interest in this field dates back to his undergraduate years at Harvard University when, as a psychology major, he studied cognition (thinking and perception) and the experimental laboratory methods that characterize his work today. During his psychiatric residency in medical school, he became involved in the family research of one of his professors. His interest in the family continued through his training as a psychoanalyst. Consequently, he has become familiar with the peculiar beliefs that people can hold about themselves—"myths" he calls them—which the psychoanalytic process sets about to correct. If individuals can have beliefs that influence the way they perceive the "real world," he reasons, then it is also possible to conceive of families holding joint beliefs that color their interactions with their environment.

At the George Washington University Medical Center, Dr. Reiss and his coworker, Dr. Mary Ellen Oliveri are studying several aspects of normal family interaction. They recruit families, consisting of mother, father, and adolescent child, from Parent-Teacher-Student Associations in and around Washington, D.C. The typical family is intact, middle class, and well educated. However, the initial work that led up to this NIMH-funded project was done with families who had a member with severe problems such as acute schizophrenia or character disorder (i.e., a psychopathic personality). In a 1967 pioneer research project, Dr. Reiss compared the responses of these types of families with those of nonclinical families in a problemsolving situation. The situation required each family to work as a group to achieve a solution to some abstract puzzle material.

Dr. Reiss found that a family with a schizophrenic member tended to regard the task as an affront to the integrity of the family group. These families were suspicious of the experimenter and seemed intent on removing themselves as quickly as possible from what they felt was a stressful situation. They tended to form a united front in obtaining consensus on a solution; but, in doing so, they sacrificed complexity to unity. Their joint solutions were of poor quality, obtained prematurely without a consideration of all the clues the experimenter provided them.

A family with a member who had a character disorder did not seem to function together as a unit in solving the problem. Each member tended to see the situation as an opportunity to show off his or her skills. Rather than admitting ignorance or indecisiveness by listening to what another member had to say about the problem, members of this type of family went their own ways. Each arrived at an early solution and stuck to it. Even in the face of objective evidence, individual members tended not to budge from their positions. Because they did not work together and because each person was concerned about arriving at a quick solution, their answers tended to be of a simple nature.

"Normal families," on the other hand, saw the problemsolving situation as a game—a challenge to them out in the environment—and one that they welcomed. When these groups worked together, they were intent on arriving at the best possible answer and paid careful attention to communications coming from other members. They did not disregard information merely because of the identity of the communicator. As a result, they tended to achieve more complex joint solutions, and they were also more likely at the end of the task to hold the same opinion about the solution.

While the type of family studied has changed from 1967 to today, the problemsolving format used then is still being used. When asked why he chose this particular type of procedure to study family interaction, Dr. Reiss replied that, while a laboratory environment is artificial (in the sense of not being like situations encountered every day), it is not irrelevant to the families. It is his observation that all families take the task situation seriously. The task is viewed with concern, and families get emotionally involved in what is happening. He also has a hunch—which he is at present trying to confirm empirically—that the way a family responds to problems in the lab can predict how they will respond to significant real-life problems they may encounter.

Since the problemsolving situation serves as the basis for much of Dr. Reiss' theory, it deserves further explanation. When the father, mother, and adolescent child—the basic laboratory unit—enter the lab at the George Washington University Medical Center, they are ushered into individual soundproof booths. Their visual access to each other is restricted, and they can communicate only by means of a set of earphones and a microphone. In front of each person is a seven-column panel on which puzzle materials can be arranged. There are three puzzles to be solved. On the first and last puzzle, the experimenter cuts off family communication altogether—each person works alone and does not talk with other family members. During the second puzzle, family members may communicate freely. During all three puzzles, each person can communicate with the experimenter by pressing a button when he or she is satisfied with the puzzle solution or wants another clue.

The puzzle material consists of nonsense syllables or letters. On puzzles 1 and 3, all materials are presented at one time, and family members individually solve problems. During puzzle 2 (the family task) two syllables are presented first, and then one additional syllable at a time is added until a total of 15 is used up. On this puzzle, family members can discuss things with each other after each presentation. When satisfied, each person signals the experimenter for new material. For instance, a hypothetical family—the Smiths—might see the following group of nonsense syllables.

PMSVK	1	PMFK	9
VSSPFMK	2	PMSMSMSVK	10
VSPFK	3	VSSPFMMK	11
PMSSFK	4	PMSFK	12
VSPFMK	5	PMSMSVK	13
PMSSSSFK	6	PMSSSFK	14
PMSMSMSMSVK	7	VPFK	15
PVK	8		

It is possible for the family (or the individual working alone) to see that the cards can be put into three piles, with the cards in each pile having symbols arranged in the same sequential pattern. For instance:

PVK	PMFK	VPFK
PMSVK	PMSFK	VSPFK
PMSMSK	PMSSFK	VSPFMK
PMSMSMSVK	PMSSSFK	VSSPFMK
PMSMSMSMSVK	PMSSSSFK	VSSPFMMK

This type of arrangement is called a pattern sort. Conceptually and in practice it is the most difficult type for people to achieve. People who do not use a pattern sort use a simpler length system. That is, they put all the cards with three symbols into one pile, those with four into a second, and so on.

The experiment is ingeniously constructed so that Dr. Reiss can measure the family's contribution to the complexity of the individual's solution. For example, in our imaginary family, the Smiths, only the child uses a pattern sort on puzzle 1, while the parents use no system at all. When they work together on puzzle 2, the parents are able to benefit from adolescent Smith's insights, and they make a pattern sort. When they go back to working by themselves, they all achieve a pattern sort.

In another imaginary family—whom we can call "the Joneses"—each member starts out achieving a pattern sort during task 1. However, when the members work together as a family, instead of being helped by joint efforts, they are hindered—they achieve only a length sort. When they go back to their solitary endeavors on task 3, they achieve no sort at all. In this instance, the family has not only failed to contribute to the individual's sort but has actually had a destructive influence on it.

Two laboratory measures are derived from these procedures: The impact of family influence on individual members is called "configuration." It refers to the joint complexity and subtlety of the solution. If the person's sort is improved from task 1 (alone) to task 2 (family), then the configuration score is positive. If it decreases, the score is negative, and so on. Another family measure obtained from the problemsolving task is "coordination." One measure of coordination is the average difference in trial times among members. In a highly coordinated family, each member would be consulted before new material is taken, so trial times would be very similar. Another measure of coordination would be the similarity of card sorts among members.

FAMILY TYPOLOGY

Even though Dr. Reiss' study is still in process, he and Dr. Oliveri have been able to observe over 200 middle-class Washington-area families during the problemsolving sessions. What they are finding is that the same types of family groups first discovered in 1967 on special clinical populations also emerge in nonclinical families recruited through PTAs. Using the two dimensions of coordination and configuration, they have been able to single out four distinct types. On the basis of empirical results, Dr. Reiss has fashioned a more general theory of family interaction.

The first family type is called "environment sensitive." When confronted with a problem, these families tend to see it as "out there" in the environment. They share the belief that solutions are governed by general, logical principles and can be obtained by joint efforts. The problem has no particular personal relevance to them, except that they would enjoy working it out. Because they are oriented toward the external world, family members work well together. Each pays attention to the others' ideas and evaluates them objectively as yet another piece of information about the problem. Because of their environmental orientation, these families have developed highly refined and complex mental maps of their world. They are able to attend to outside nuances. Because the problem is no great personal affront or threat, they can focus their attention on it effectively. When they arrive at a joint solution, family members base it on a shared set of observations.

Dr. Reiss sees each of the three types of family—environment-sensitive, consensus-sensitive, and achievement-sensitive—as having something of value to contribute to the individual and to society.

"Interpersonal distance-sensitive families," on the other hand, view the lab as a test of individual prowess and an arena for demonstrating superiority over other family members. These families do not work well together. Each person wants to arrive at his or her own solution, regardless of how valuable information from the others would be. Their solutions are low on configuration (family influence) and also low on coordination.

The third type of family is called "consensus sensitive." These families communicate with each other quite often, but the point of the exchange seems to be to achieve a united front rather than to exchange information or to debate points. Conflict avoidance is a primary goal, and relatively little attention is given to the objective quality of the solution. Because this family's orientation is toward each other rather than toward the environment, and because discussion is minimized, the quality of joint solutions is poor. Consensus-sensitive groups score low on configuration and high on coordination.

A fourth type of family is emerging for the first time from the Washington, D.C. sample. Dr. Reiss labels this group the "achievement-sensitive family." Like the interpersonal distance-sensitives, each family member sees the problem situation as an arena for self-expression. But each person is oriented toward the environment and toward the best possible solution, and family members do pay attention to what the others say. Here, family effort improves the quality of solutions, but the individuals do not get together to arrive at similar answers. Therefore, this family scores high on configuration and low on coordination.

Dr. Reiss was asked whether or not he found it surprising that the same types of families first identified using clinical samples should also come out in nonclinical populations. He explained that the family type labels—perhaps with the exception of distance-sensitives—did not have any negative connotations. Just because a family is concerned with arriving at a consensus on a solution (even at the cost of its complexity), the members are not necessarily less mentally healthy than another type of family. Families with a schizophrenic member and consensus-sensitive families from a normal population may show similar problemsolving behavior in the laboratory; but they differ on significant nonlab dimensions. In fact, Dr. Reiss sees each of the three types of family—environment-sensitive, consensus-sensitive, and achievement-sensitive—as having something of value to contribute to the individual and to society.

He speaks of consensus-sensitive families as being more traditional. In a society where boundaries between the family and other institutions are rapidly disappearing, the old adage that "blood is thicker than water" still holds with this group. Family ties are seen as something unique and truly special. The family is a buffer against the harsh realities of life, and perhaps in their desire to maintain it, members tolerate relatively little open breach of solidarity. What this type of family conveys to the individual member is a strong sense of family identity. Often members will hold a more fatalistic philosophy than others: Life is viewed as relatively unpredictable, and fate is seen as playing a large role in the outcome of the individual. Basic family bonds are clung to for the stability and order they provide.

The environment-sensitive and achievement-sensitive families are seen as products of a more secular, less mystical culture. In both types of family, the boundaries between the basic blood group and institutions or outsiders are not so well defined. Family members may come and go freely without the strong feelings of loss that probably would accompany shifts in consensus-sensitive families. But both types of families seem to possess the attitude that the world is knowable and worth knowing. In both, members are information sources, not unlike many other sources available in the environment. In environment-sensitive groupings, it is important that family members share the same view of "reality." In achievement-sensitive ones, the individuals seem to hold themselves apart even from those closest. Both environment-sensitive and achievement-sensitive families might confer on the individual emerging from them skills that are valuable in mastering an increasingly complex society, while in consensus-sensitive families mastery is secondary to maintenance of family bonds.

Interpersonal distance-sensitive families appear to leave members with a thorough sense of estrangement, both from the environment and from each other. Dr. Reiss views this family type's legacy to the individual in a negative light.

He also reports a very significant finding that family type bears no relationship to the intelligence of individual members. It might appear at first glance that configuration would be the attribute of a family composed of highly intelligent members. However, family type goes beyond separate intellects. By the same token, it may be related to other prevailing cultural beliefs, such as fatalism and mysticism, or to key events that have had an influence on the thinking of the family. For example, in Medieval Europe there probably were more consensus-sensitive families than there are today because people were more enveloped in mysticism and religion. Likewise, Dr. Reiss thinks these families are more prevalent today in working-class strata than in white-collar groups. In the working classes, there may be less mobility, perhaps stronger fatalistic beliefs, and stronger extended family bonds. These and other factors could account for this distribution of families.

Dr. Reiss also points out that a person's level of performance during the first puzzle test—while working alone—does not predict whether he or she will improve when working with the family. He sees family dynamics as having a strong emotional component that can either interfere with or facilitate performance in a task-oriented situation.

STUDY OF THE WAY FAMILIES SEE THEIR SOCIAL WORLD

One of his current interests is in finding out how a family's shared beliefs influence the way they interact with their environment. In order to study this, he has constructed a laboratory situation which allows families to arrange miniature figures on a board in any way they wish. The first three figures they are given represent the family itself. After the members have placed the figures and are satisfied with the arrangement, they are given two stranger images and finally geometric objects. Throughout the procedure they are allowed to talk among themselves and to change the arrangement as they please.

The rationale for the study is as follows: In clinical practice, it is well known that people tend to "project" their feelings onto neutral materials. For instance, in therapy with young children, who are unable to sit down and discuss their problems with a psychiatrist, it is common practice to observe doll play. The way the child handles the dolls—especially those representing the family—gives the therapist a clue about the source of the problem. Dr. Reiss likewise believes that a family's shared beliefs are difficult for members to articulate. They may act in ways that allow an observer to infer beliefs, but when they are asked directly, they are unable to express them. When the same people work with visual materials, however, they can act out the situations which express their feelings.

In a second part of this study, a questionnaire was administered to the families. It dealt with patterns of friendship and communication. Dr. Reiss was interested in seeing if family type would have an influence on how widely or narrowly members cast their social nets. As expected, he is finding that consensus-sensitive families report that their closest friends are members of the extended family and immediate neighbors. The friendship networks of environment-sensitive families extend to people far removed from them, either by blood relationship or by physical distance.

Dr. Reiss wants to test his theory of family-environment interaction in yet other social settings. At the present time, he and a coworker at the George Washington University Medical Center are seeing how families who share different beliefs about themselves relate to other people during multifamily group therapy sessions. Preliminary findings support his hypotheses about the "real life" importance of family type in determining this form of social interaction.

INDIVIDUAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

A second study involves an examination of relationships between a person's "style of thinking and perceiving"—called "cognitive-control principles"—and the type of family he or she belongs to. Stylistic factors are thought to be independent of the person's intelligence, but they can determine how he or she performs in a number of situations that require an intellectual response. For example, the dimension of "field dependence" versus "independence" is being assessed for each member of a family who is studied. This rather complicated title refers to a dimension which reflects differences in the way people deal with a confusing situation when they must make a decision. A field-independent person is able to keep different aspects of the situation separate from one another and can disregard cues that are not relevant to the task at hand. A field-dependent person, however, reacts to the situation as a whole, even when the correct solution to a problem demands singling out parts. Two measures of this dimension are being tested. The first, the Rod and Frame Experiment, takes place in a darkened room in which the subject can see only an illuminated movable picture-type frame and a pencil-like rod. Both objects can be tilted by the experimenter, and the person's task is to bring the rod back to an upright position, regardless of the frame's tilt. The person's score is the distance away from the true upright position of the rod. Field-independent people are defined as those who have little trouble with the task; field-dependent people encounter great difficulty with it. Another test, Embedded Figures, involves showing a person simple geometric figures, such as a triangle, and then a complicated color design in which it is disguised. The task is to identify the figure as quickly as possible. There are 24 figures, and the person's score is the sum of individual time measurements. Again, the field-independent person is the one who identifies the figure rapidly, and the field-dependent person has problems disregarding extraneous figures and colors.

There is much evidence that field independence/dependence is a stable individual trait. Other findings suggest that field-independent people are active in dealing with their environment and aware of, and in control of, their own impulses. Field-dependent people lack a finely differentiated world picture, and they tend to react more passively in global and intuitive ways.

Dr. Reiss sees this cognitive control dimension in the individual as having a formal resemblance to configuration in the family. To some extent both are measures of the degree of attention to sublety and complexity. In general, he views the issue of relationships between individual and family styles as perhaps the most difficult to understand in the project. How can we tease out, he muses, the developmental histories that led to certain family types? What kinds of people, with their own characteristic styles, marry and form particular families? What types of children do the parents produce in turn? These questions of individual and family history cannot, he regrets, be answered easily but will require years of work, probably of a longitudinal, followup nature. In his present studies however, what he wants to observe will not shed clear light on cause-and-effect relations, but it will tell us something about the types of people who are found in particular families. To this end, he and his team are comparing differences on the individual style variables to differences in family styles. While they have not yet completed collection of all their data, the investigative team is finding some very interesting preliminary results. For example, in environment-sensitive families, fathers are very field independent (in comparison to all fathers from other families), and mothers are very field dependent (in comparison to other mothers). The mothers in environment-sensitive families also score very high on a measure of interpersonal empathy—the ability to see things from the other person's point of view. It seems then that successful problemsolving in families (where success is defined by the process and outcome of the environment-sensitive group) depends on a complementary relationship between husband and wife. In Dr. Reiss' sample, an analytic, field-independent father and an intuitive, empathic field-dependent mother seem to be the best combination. Dr. Reiss admits to some surprise at these findings. It might have been more logical, he says, to expect that both spouses in an environment-sensitive family would be field independents; but logic is apparently giving way to a more traditional sex-role breakdown in the parents in which the father is analytic, logical, and somewhat detached, and the mother is intuitive and sensitive to others.

IS FAMILY INTERACTION UNIQUE?

In yet another experiment, Dr. Reiss has been testing two theories about the nature of family interaction. One theory—called the "social-behavior hypothesis"—states that people in family groups behave the same way as they would in any group. If a person is cheerful and optimistic with the family, he or she is likely to be cheerful and optimistic when mixing with peers, and so on. Basically what this theory claims is that there is little about family interaction that cannot be understood by knowing the typical group behavior of an individual. Dr. Reiss sees this as opposed to his theory of "shared constructs," in which family behavior is seen as special because it is built upon years of shared experiences, reactions, and expectations.

In order to put the two contrasting theories to a test, he has been comparing people's behavior in what is called a "pseudofamily" group with their behavior in their own family group. A pseudofamily consists of three unrelated individuals—an adult man and woman, and an adolescent—none of whom has ever met the others before they come face to face at George Washington University Medical Center. This triad is put through the same series of puzzle solutions as the family group. At a later date, each person returns to the lab and works with his or her own family.

If the social-behavior hypothesis is correct, one should find that the same family types emerge as when true families are tested. If the shared construct theory is right, then the type of pseudofamily a person falls into should not necessarily correspond with the real family type he or she belongs to. Dr. Reiss reports that preliminary results tend to support the shared-construct theory. When pseudofamilies get together, they fall into only two groups—environment-sensitive and interpersonal distance-sensitive. Either they are quite polite to each other and seek information before proceeding to work on the puzzle, or there is absolutely no communication among them. In this latter case, the pseudofamily is really seen to be composed of awkward strangers who are unable or unwilling to share their ideas with people they do not know.

Dr. Reiss has even more studies planned. Some are just getting started, and others remain to be carried out. But he is satisfied that the research coming out of his lab will add to general knowledge about the ways family members relate to each other and to their world. His research combines practical interests that have immediate relevance to important social issues with experimental methods that allow for a degree of precision rarely achieved in studies of family process. When he started his work, he was a pioneer in the field of family influence on the individual's thinking. Work of others had considered its influence on behavior, but Dr. Reiss made a more radical assumption about influence on intellect.

Dr. Reiss sees his problemsolving situation as useful in family therapy. While one could not decide, on the basis of its behavior in the situation, that a family had problems, a therapist could gain some understanding of the particular kinds of problems a family in his practice had. For instance, if the family was consensus-sensitive, the therapist would realize that he (or she) might be viewed differently by them than by an environment-sensitive family. Adjustments in therapeutic technique to facilitate interaction could be made so that families would be reached in the way best suited to their particular style.

Crisis initially exaggerates the family's typical mode of construing the world.

Dr. Reiss believes that the family typology is stable and relevant to an understanding of how a family behaves in important life situations. He plans to study the responses of families to crises such as illness or death of a member or to the psychiatric crisis of having a family member in therapy. He views crisis as one of several mechanisms by which a family's shared view of the world may be changed. Crisis initially exaggerates the family's typical mode of construing the world. However, if it persists, this family view can become so stylized, rigid, and binding that family members rebel against it, and a fundamental disintegration of family beliefs occurs. Quite often, a very small influence from a helping individual can reshape the family's constructs markedly. A preacher, doctor, or therapist can provide a nucleus for the family's reconstruction of a new set of shared constructs. In this way, crisis and assistance can serve to alter in fundamental ways the family's central or guiding beliefs about the world.

Dr. Reiss' combination of clinical insight into family dynamics, his interest in thinking and perception, and his carefully planned laboratory studies promise to shed light on issues with profound implications for American families. He sees coping and exploration as two important facets of family style. He hopes that his work—by studying the forces that bind a family together—will aid in understanding those that threaten to break it apart.

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FAMILY AND FRIENDSHIP IN OLD AGE

Principal Investigator: Gregory Arling, Ph.D.

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Dr. Gregory Arling, Director of the Virginia Center on Aging at the Virginia Commonwealth University is a social gerontologist, a new kind of social scientist who brings training in research sociology to bear on problems of the aged. Arling is examining aspects of friendship, neighboring, and family life in a typical U.S. city, Richmond, Va., among the over 65 population residing there.

Getting old brings fundamental changes in social roles and relationships. Individuals who for many years fulfilled the critical roles of breadwinner and homemaker often find themselves in dependent relationships with their former dependents. The maintenance of satisfactory social ties is made more difficult by such factors as loss of a spouse, death of peers, mobility of grown children, personal problems with health, and reduced income.

Of particular interest to social gerontologists is the viability of family relationships in old age. Ever since the renowned sociologist, Talcott Parsons (1942) lamented the demise of the extended family, it has been claimed that older people are "alienated" from their adult children. If alienation is meant to connote physical distance, such claims are apparently misleading, since a number of studies (e.g., Shanas 1968; Adams 1968; Bracey 1966) have indicated that frequent parent-child contact is the rule. If by alienation is meant psychological distance, however, there is some evidence, albeit indirect, that the assertions are at least partially accurate. A number of researchers (e.g., Rosenburg 1970; Pihlblad & McNamara 1965; Blau 1973) have found that there is no significant difference in personal morale between older people who see adult children frequently and those who see them infrequently. By contrast, other evidence (Pihlblad & McNamara 1965; Carp 1966; Rosow 1967; Hochschild 1973) indicates that involvement with friends elevates personal morale in old age.

A commonly invoked explanation for these findings is that friendships involve social reciprocity, whereas parent-child relationships may be more one-sided. Reciprocal exchanges are thought to promote self-esteem and enhance personal morale. More generally, sociologists theorize that when two people in a close relationship hold unequal power or resources, the one with more resources may come to resent the burden imposed by the other. The one with fewer resources may experience guilt or shame.

The ability to reciprocate may in turn be conditioned by a number of factors such as health and income. It is in old age that people are prone to lose these socially valued resources. Lacking assets that figure prominently in determinations of social power, they are sometimes forced to assume a dependent position vis-a-vis their own offspring. In modern society, dependency between adults, even in relationships proscribed by kinship bonds, has a negative connotation. Self-sufficiency remains the norm. When older people violate this norm, or perceive themselves to be in violation of it, they may experience conflict and unfavorable changes in self-image. They may be put in a kind of double jeopardy, first by losing valued assets, and second, by feeling and being less respected for no longer having them. While it is usually assumed that the fewer assets one possesses, the more difficult it is for one to remain involved in the social milieu, paradoxically, some financially secure and able-bodied elderly may develop an excessive and defensive pride in their "independence." They may be reluctant to engage in reciprocal social exchanges, lest these connote helplessness. In this latter case, as in the case of excessive dependency, personal morale may be lower than otherwise. And in either instance, the give-and-take upon which social life is based can be inhibited.

Geographic restrictions usually occur in old age and can influence the kinds of social relationships that are formed. At a time when friends appear to assume greater importance than ever for personal morale, barriers may be erected to the maintenance of companionable relationships. Longtime acquaintances become sick or die. Widowhood makes it difficult to engage in couple-oriented activities. Friendships centering around the shared interests of the workplace have ended. Increased difficulty in driving cars, managing airports, and walking distances limits contact with far-away friends. One's immediate neighborhood tends to become a hub of companionship ties.

In a previous study of 409 elderly widows living in the rural Piedmont region of South Carolina, Arling (1976) found that a measure of "personal morale" was related more strongly to the number of friends a widow had and to the amount of neighboring she engaged in than it was to family involvement. Friendship and neighboring in turn were associated with the number and variety of daily activities widows engaged in, such as shopping, attending meetings, taking walks, etc.

Arling interpreted these results as supporting the notion that dependency makes satisfactory family relationships more difficult and thus accounts for the insignificant impact he and others have found between family ties and personal morale. By contrast, friends and neighbors are a good source of companionship since interaction with them proceeds on a more reciprocal basis.

In his current study of the Richmond elderly, Arling is trying both to explore in greater detail relationships found in the Piedmont study and to expand the range of variables considered. He has broadened the composition of the sample so as to check on the generality of the Piedmont findings, and he has tried to put to a test some of the explanations commonly used to account for findings of weak or nonexistent relationships between family ties and personal morale.

The Richmond research focuses on four main issues implicated as influences on personal morale. It is designed to see if: (1) companionship increases personal morale among older people; (2) reciprocity contributes directly or indirectly to personal morale; (3) old people develop closer companionship relationships with friends than with family members (except their spouses); and (4) they have more reciprocal exchanges with friends than with family members.

In contrast to the Piedmont study, the Richmond study attempts to measure directly the intervening variables of *efficacy* and *reciprocity* as they are hypothesized to mediate personal morale. Morale measures are elaborated over the Piedmont study as are items defining social networks. The sample has been expanded to include married, single, and divorced persons, as well as the widowed, males and females, blacks and whites.

As in the Piedmont study, *personal morale* remains the chief outcome measure. It is hypothesized to be influenced by reciprocity in family and friendship relationships. But Arling has also measured a group of variables that may well exert a secondary influence on hypothesized primary relationships. These "conditioning" variables, as they are labeled, include social class, health, marital status, sex, residential setting, organizational membership, and race.

To give some examples of the ways in which conditioning variables may operate, the older person with a living spouse is more likely to have an immediate and reliable source of companionship than the never married, divorced, or widowed. So personal morale among the married may be higher than other groups, all other factors being equal. Or to cite yet another possibility, affluence may enable the older person to establish more satisfactory, morale-bolstering relationships since reciprocity may thrive under conditions of monetary parity between parent and child. A person's sex can have an impact. For example, women may be more comfortable with their role in old age than men and hence have generally higher morale, because for them the transition from middle to old age is usually less abruptly demarcated by retirement from outside work.

Conditioning variables are setting factors, the impact of which can be controlled for in an analysis. Between levels of a conditioning variable, average group differences may exist. Within levels, however, major hypothesized relationships, such as those thought to exist between morale and forms of social involvement, can be examined.

THE DESIGN OF THE RICHMOND STUDY

The elderly surveyed in the Richmond study numbered 239. At the time they were queried, all the respondents were residing within the city limits and lived either alone or with a spouse in their own households. While they did not represent all elderly persons (since those living in nursing homes or with other family members were excluded), nonetheless, they probably are representative of older urbanites living in their own homes in midsized cities throughout the United States today.

The method used to elicit information was a questionnaire, administered in person. It was constructed so as to obtain a wide variety of data, both factual and attitudinal. For convenience's sake, the information can be classed into the three broad types, *background, attitudinal* and *involvement with family and friends*. Background information included the conditioning variables mentioned previously. Information about involvement with family and friends required respondents to list relatives and acquaintances and to note their geographical proximity and the frequency and nature of social contacts maintained with them. The respondents were also asked how much the individuals mentioned served as companions or sources of shared activities. They were queried in detail about the flow of assistance that occurred between themselves and others.

Attitudinal measures included the major outcome of *personal morale*, the hypothesized intervening measure of *efficacy versus powerlessness*, age identification, expectations for assistance from family and friends, and an evaluation of the respondents' interpersonal relationships with family and friends.

The research was designed both to test some newly constructed measures such as the one of social reciprocity, and more importantly, to get behavioral and attitudinal information about the Richmond elderly. From this pool of information, correlations between reciprocity, companionship, and personal morale will be examined.

Defining Some Major Measures

Many items on the questionnaire elicited information in a straightforward fashion and require little explanation. Others were designed to measure some underlying dimension of personality or social structure and hence are not as obvious. One such measure is that of the construct of *social reciprocity*.

Social reciprocity, hypothesized to account for the correlation between friendship and morale (and for the lack of such a relationship between family ties and morale) was assessed by a set of items asking the respondents to name people from whom they would request a particular favor. Conversely, they were also asked to name people for whom they would do the same favor. They were allowed to give as many as three names or as few as none.

The more names they could give, both as sources and as recipients of a specific kind of assistance (not necessarily the same names), the more highly they ranked on the social reciprocity scale. Examples of reciprocity items are:

Who, if anyone, would be the first person to tell you if something really exciting or wonderful happened to them?

Who, if anyone, would be the next most likely person to tell you if something exciting or wonderful happened to them?

Who, if anyone, would be the next most likely person to tell you if something wonderful happened to them?

For each "receiving" item, there was a mirror image one concerned with the giving of assistance. Seven such pairs were used to measure types of give-and-take. First, all questions concerning giving of assistance were asked, followed by the complete set of items concerned with receiving. Examples of a giving item that mirror the receiving examples shown above are as follows:

Who, if anyone, would be the first person you would tell if something really exciting or wonderful happened to you?

Who, if anyone, would be the next person you would tell?

Who, if anyone, would be the next person you would tell?

In addition to this set, other sets asked about the giving and receiving of assistance around the house, cash loans, advice about a personal problem, invitations to informal social activities directed toward relaxation and enjoyment, invitations to dinner, and assistance in time of illness or disability.

Personal Morale

The major outcome to be measured was assessed using a 16-item scale designed by Dr. Powell Lawton at the Philadelphia Geriatric Center. The scale can be broken down into three subscales that form separate dimensions of morale. The dimensions are labeled *agitation*, *attitudes toward aging*, and *lonely dissatisfaction*. Items comprising the scale are shown in exhibit 1.

Exhibit I
Personal Morale Scale

1. Little things bother me more this year.	Yes	No
2. Sometimes I worry so much I can't sleep	Yes	No
3. I am afraid of a lot of things.	Yes	No
4. I get mad more than I used to.	Yes	No
5. I take things hard.	Yes	No
6. I get upset easily.	Yes	No
7. Things get worse as I get older.	Yes	No
8. I have as much pep as I had last year.	Yes	No
9. As you get older, you are less useful.	Yes	No
10. As I get older, things are better than I thought they would be.	Yes	No
11. I am as happy now as I was when younger.	Yes	No
12. How often do you feel lonely?	A lot	Not often
13. I sometimes feel that life isn't worth living.	Yes	No
14. Life is hard for me much of the time.	Yes	No
15. How satisfied are you with your life today?	Not satisfied	Satisfied
16. I have a lot to be sad about.	Yes	No

Items 1 through 6 comprise the agitation dimension; items 7 through 11 the attitude toward aging dimension; and items 12 through 16 the lonely dissatisfaction dimension.

Older people were asked what they expected friends and family to do for them. These expectations, labeled norms by sociologists, represent baselines against which actual fulfillment of expectations can be compared. Theoretically at least, a person who endorses a norm which is not adequately fulfilled is more likely to be discontented and distressed than is the individual whose expectations for proper behavior are matched by realities.

In the Richmond study, certain norms were measured through a series of simple statements with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree. The following statements exemplify certain norms:

Adult children should give their parents financial help when needed.

Friends and neighbors should visit a person at least once a week.

You should not expect your friends and neighbors to help you if you cannot help them in turn.

A final attitude measure to be discussed is that of *efficacy* versus *powerlessness*. Previous sociological research has uncovered relationships between feelings of powerlessness and social isolation. In general, people who have rich social networks are more likely to perceive themselves as effective in dealing with their environments. In turn, feelings of effectiveness may be related to enhanced personal morale. *Efficacy* versus *powerlessness* was measured by asking the respondents in the Richmond survey whether or not they felt they could achieve satisfactory solutions to common situations. For instance, they were asked whether they could do anything if they bought a defective item from the store and wanted to return it, or whether they could do something if attendants in a doctor's office were not treating them fairly.

Findings

When the overall analysis is finished, Arling hopes to demonstrate a pattern of relationships among variables in the study. However, work is still in process. Findings presented here are limited to selected aspects of the research.

The following section first gives a general picture of who the respondents are and the extent of their social networks. It proceeds to describe their competence in everyday matters, their attitudes toward and patterns of social reciprocity, and their level of personal morale. The relationship between reciprocity and personal morale is examined. Finally, ethnicity is considered as an influence on reciprocity.

THE RICHMOND ELDERLY: WHO THEY ARE. WHOM THEY SEE.

The majority of respondents to the survey were what sociologists call "the young old." Except for a relatively small percentage of octo- and nonagenerians, most were between the ages of 65 and 74. Nearly four-fifths owned their own homes, and about half had a living spouse. Predictably, there was a predominance of females over males (65 to 35 percent). The sample divided almost evenly between blacks and whites.

Sixty-five percent of respondents had a living child, and of these, 69 percent saw a child at least every 2 weeks. Only 1 in 10 saw offspring less than twice a year, again confirming previous findings that parent-child contact is common into old age. Most of the old people reported having other living relatives whom they saw from time to time and upon whom they could call for assistance.

Neighborhood social networks were extensive. Only 4 percent of the respondents reported themselves as having no one in their environs whom they knew well enough to visit. Many listed eight or more neighborhood companions with whom they could socialize on a casual basis. Neighbors were seen as definite sources of assistance. In fact, 92 percent of the sample said that they would feel free to ask them for help.

Despite limitations on personal mobility, respondents managed to keep up friendships beyond their immediate neighborhoods. Ninety percent saw more distant acquaintances at least once every 6 months, and phone conversations to mediate relationships were common. Far-away friends were also described by most respondents as reliable sources of assistance.

The elderly polled entertained themselves regularly with a number of activities aside from contact with family and friends. Almost all had viewed television within 2 weeks of the survey, and almost all had read a newspaper. Seventy percent had attended church, and most of these did so on a regular basis. Over half of those polled had taken strolls for exercise or pleasure. On the other hand, very few had gone to the movies or to the library.

A comparison of companionship provided by family and friends was obtained by asking respondents with whom they usually shared different daily activities within a 2-week period prior to the time of the survey. They were allowed to choose answers such as *alone, with a spouse, with an adult child, with another family member*, or *with a neighbor or friend*.

It came as somewhat of a surprise that the largest variety of activities respondents were asked about tended to be performed alone, even such things as taking a walk or going to the library. If a spouse was present in the home, he or she was the most common companion for going to church or the movies, eating out, or traveling for pleasure. Friends and neighbors were the most frequent companions for attending church-related and organizational meetings. Other family members were most frequently companions for only one activity: taking a ride in a car for pleasure.

Hence, among the respondents many common activities were solitary ones. Spouses did indeed provide a readily available source of companionship, as did friends in the neighborhood. Despite the prevalence of contacts, children were relatively uninvolved in their parents' everyday undertakings.

Competence and Self-Sufficiency

One set of questionnaire items was designed to see how much older people identified among themselves as an age group. (Age solidarity may influence feelings of self-esteem and personal morale.) Identification tended to be high. More than half of the sample agreed with the statement that "basically all older people have the same problems," and 69 percent believed that younger people did not understand their problems. A large percentage thought that the elderly could solve their problems by working together, and three-quarters thought that black and

While it is commonly held that the elderly live in fear of crime (some writers have suggested that it is a greater concern to them than their health), the Richmond respondents expressed little apprehension over personal safety in their own neighborhoods.

white old people shared the same sorts of difficulties. When asked to compare their incomes with those of other old people, 29 percent thought that they were better off than their peers; 35 percent thought they were better off than younger people.

On the measure of powerlessness versus efficacy, most of the respondents believed that they could change a situation not to their liking. For instance, 96 percent believed that they could get a refund if they purchased a defective item from a store, and 78 percent felt that they could get a neighbor to quiet down if he or she was making too much noise.

While it is commonly held that the elderly live in fear of crime (some writers have suggested that it is a greater concern to them than their health), the Richmond respondents expressed little apprehension over personal safety in their own neighborhoods.

Arling speculates that concern with safety might be pronounced in large cities where the crime rate is high but not in medium-sized cities like Richmond. He also speculates that a general fear of crime might prevail among the elderly as distinct from a specific fear of crime in their own neighborhoods.

When they were asked about difficulties encountered in performing everyday tasks, the elderly in the survey emerged as a generally competent group. They reported having the most difficulty with a relatively infrequent task, cutting toenails, (described as *very difficult* by 11 percent). Other items ranked in descending order of difficulty were taking a bath, doing housework, going shopping, getting around the house, putting on shoes, preparing meals, handling money, and taking medicine.

Among the respondents to the survey, a distaste for dependency on relatives was noted in one area concerned with choice of care in the event of sickness or disability. Overwhelmingly, they expressed a desire to remain in their own homes, assisted by a nurse or housekeeper, or less desirably by a family member, in the event of illness. Many even refused to consider care by relatives in relative's homes as an option, and the lowest ranking options were such care and care in a nursing home. Most of the respondents clearly desired to retain independence and privacy as long as possible, even if incapacitated by illness.

Social Reciprocity

Because items eliciting norms and items designed to assess actual exchanges of assistance were included in the questionnaire, it was possible to make some comparisons between expectations and the transactions that actually occurred.

On norm items, most of the respondents believed that adult children should visit once a week and should care for their parents if they became sick or disabled. The respondents endorsed the statement that children should make attempts to live close by. Only 28 percent thought that parents *should not* be helped by their children even if they were unable to help in return. Thus, from relatives, particularly offspring, the elderly seemed to expect assistance on a *nonreciprocated* basis.

From neighbors and friends, the expectation was for more give-and-take. Forty percent of respondents did not expect loans of cash from their nonrelatives, and the sample divided evenly on whether friends and neighbors should help a person who could not provide help in return. Hence, while other studies have suggested that nonreciprocated relationships may fail to bolster morale or may even demoralize, and while the present study provides some evidence of a distaste for dependency on relatives, nonetheless, most of the respondents apparently thought that adult children ought to be willing to provide nonreciprocated assistance should it be needed.

Actual social reciprocity was looked at in two ways. First, the most frequently given and received types of assistance were reported. Specific sources of assistance were categorized.

The highest number of "receiving" sources reported by the respondents was for invitations to dinner or for food gifts. Exactly half of the older people listed three sources, and only 9 percent listed no sources. Assistance received was also high in the areas of advice about personal problems or care when sick. Thirty-eight percent had gotten advice from three sources, and 40 percent had received care from three. Twenty-two percent listed three sources of assistance for shopping or housework. It was with finances that older people reported fewest sources of assistance. Only 17 percent listed three, and a full half had none at all.

In general, older persons were more likely to receive assistance than to give it, but the kinds of help they provided others had the same approximate ranking as those they themselves received. For instance, three sources were listed by 50 percent of respondents as recipients of their dinner invitations or food, and three were listed by 36 percent as recipients of personal advice. Thirty-seven percent of respondents could name three people whom they would help in time of illness, and 22 percent listed three whom they would help with shopping or housework. However, only 14 percent named three to whom they would lend money, and 59 percent named no one.

On items concerned with exchanges of emotional support, there was a more even match between giving and receiving. Sixty-one percent of respondents named three people who would tell them if something wonderful or exciting happened, and about the same percentage mentioned three to whom they would relate good news. Forty-four percent had at least three people whom they believed would like to pass some time with them, and about half had at least three with whom they themselves would like to relax.

Sources and recipients of assistance were further categorized according to whether the individual mentioned was a *spouse*, *other family member*, or *a neighbor and friend*. The elderly were most likely to choose a family member as the first person to whom they would relay good news about themselves, but they had a slight preference for the companionship of friends and neighbors just to relax and have a good time. They were much more likely to choose family members both as sources and recipients of assistance with shopping or help around the house. On money matters, family members were listed by most of the respondents as a first choice both as recipients and as sources of loans. Family members were most likely to be listed both as sources and recipients of help in time of sickness or disability. Family members were most likely to be invited by respondents to dinner and to issue such invitations to them.

Hence, while friends and neighbors are more likely to be first choices for reciprocated companionship, family members predominate as first choices of both for giving and getting assistance in other activities.

Personal Morale

As described previously, the measure of *personal morale* was divided into three dimensions, *agitation*, *attitude toward aging*, and *lonely dissatisfaction*. On the *agitation* dimension, 35 percent of the respondents reported themselves as getting upset easily, and 32 percent said that they were more bothered this year than last by little things. But only 20 percent said that they were angrier and more fearful than before.

Likewise, on the *lonely dissatisfaction* dimension, relatively few respondents reported that life was not worth living or was difficult and dissatisfying, and very few felt themselves to be lonely.

It was on the *aging* dimension that the most ambivalence emerged. Many (72 percent) did not think that old age was as bad as they had anticipated, but only a slight majority reported themselves as being happier now than they were a year ago (58 percent). Substantial numbers believed that they were less useful (44 percent) and less peppy (45 percent) than previously.

Social Reciprocity and Personal Morale

A key question in the Richmond study was that of the relationship between social reciprocity and personal morale. Using the seven-item set of reciprocity questions, a scale was constructed which ranked respondents for reciprocity based on whether or not they gave and received assistance or emotional support. The more sources an individual could name, both in the receiving and giving categories, the higher his (or her) reciprocity was judged to be.

The anticipated relationship between morale and reciprocity was found. Older people who had a large number of persons with whom they exchanged support had higher morale than those with only a few. There was a strong correlation between social reciprocity and two of the three personal morale dimensions—*attitude toward aging*, and *lonely dissatisfaction*. The third dimension, *agitation*, was not related to reciprocity.

While a majority of respondents appeared to be neither depressed nor alienated, most found the process of aging and associated changes in responsibility and health at least mildly unpleasant.

A Comparison of Social Reciprocity: Black and White Respondents

Arling has made some preliminary comparisons of social reciprocity in the subsamples of black and white respondents.

Originally he had assumed that older blacks would be less able to reciprocate assistance offered them than older whites since the former were more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods with high-crime rates. These and other correlated conditions would lead one to expect greater social disorganization among blacks.

In fact, the black respondents in the Richmond survey endorsed *more* rather than fewer reciprocal-support norms and engaged in more reciprocal exchanges than their white counterparts. They were more likely to expect their family members to live close by and to visit them often. They were far more likely to expect neighbors and friends to give them financial assistance, to visit them at least once a week, and to provide them with advice about their personal problems.

In actual exchanges of assistance, black older people were found to be more likely both to give and to receive financial assistance, care during illness, and advice about personal problems.

As a result of such findings, Arling has had to rethink his original suppositions about relationships between ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and the ability to reciprocate. Whereas he had anticipated lower levels of support and higher levels of dependency among the black elderly because of the socioecological factors mentioned earlier, he found the opposite. He speculates that the Richmond blacks' greater cohesiveness may be the result of having to cope historically with racial oppression and the resultant need to band together in the face of adversity. Because of such conditions as racism and poverty, they may have developed stronger mutual support systems than the white elderly, who may be less in need of help or who may have inculcated the predominant cultural values of independence to such a degree that their capacity to tolerate dependence on others is decreased.

The data on black-white differences in the Richmond study at least suggest that relatively adverse socioeconomic conditions may have less negative impact than otherwise on social reciprocity, if strong support networks have been developed throughout an individual's lifespan. To the extent that a person remains central in a social network (for whatever reason), then he or she may enjoy greater give-and-take in social relationships into old age. Affluence per se may not enhance reciprocity. A degree of financial hardship may strengthen interdependence in a social group, although at some level, poverty most likely becomes a strong force in social disorganization. These and other relationships remain to be explored more thoroughly.

THE FUTURE

Work on aging and the aged is particularly timely today since Americans are entering an era of the old. As more and more citizens live to advanced ages, society is turning toward provision of their wants and needs. Indeed, some social theorists have speculated that relationships between the generations can become strained as income from young families gets funneled off through large increases in taxation and applied to the needs of the ever-growing older segment of the population.

The research of social gerontologist Arling has implications for social policy toward the aged. He is examining some influences that contribute to high personal morale in old age. What, he is asking, is the role of the family in fostering mental health among the elderly? Perhaps families need not feel obliged to solve all problems of older members, thereby inducing unwanted dependence and limiting reciprocity. Older people themselves are resistant to the idea of moving into the households of their children. Most have grown up cherishing self-sufficiency, and so they continue to prefer maintaining their own households, having their own sources of income, and taking care of themselves as long as possible. But they also want to be able to depend on family in time of need, and Arling's normative data suggest that they expect to. One social gerontologist aptly labeled what older persons in America strive to attain as "intimacy at a distance."

In future research, Arling would like to explore conditions that make social reciprocity easier to achieve. Further studies may clarify conditions underlying higher social reciprocity among blacks, a group that might have been expected to be more one-sidedly dependent on others by virtue of lower income. Arling believes that we may have to dispense with notions of all older blacks as socially marginal and isolated. Such stereotypes may give way to a more refined picture portraying the conditions under which they develop strong forms of interdependence and perhaps even better mental health than aged whites.

Arling proposes to study in more detail the kinds of helping relationships that can emerge both in formal service delivery systems and in informal settings with family, neighbors, and friends. Such information could be used by policymakers in deciding what sort of assistance is best provided through public agencies versus informal channels.

Finally, Arling stresses that policymakers must be careful not to inadvertently undermine already existing informal social supports for the aged. Proposed public programs should be viewed with a mind to possible effects on the independence of elderly citizens. In Arling's estimation, excessive, defensive independence may be as harmful to personal morale as excessive dependence. Neither extreme is to be preferred to interdependence, a condition which may hold most promise of enhancing the mental health of aged Americans.

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Part II. Marriage and Divorce

FACTORS SUSTAINING MARRIAGE; FACTORS IN ADJUSTING TO DIVORCE

Principal Investigator: Graham B. Spanier, Ph.D.

Authors: Graham B. Spanier, Ph.D., and
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The last 15 years in the United States have evidenced the most sustained increase in divorce ever experienced in this country. In 1973, we reached an all-time high in divorce rates. By 1978, the divorce rate had reached 5.0 per year for each 1,000 individuals in the population. The rate has more than doubled since the mid-1960s so that now, in the United States, over a third of those marrying are likely to experience at least one divorce. Half of all marriages of young Americans are predicted to end in divorce.

Despite the visibility and portent of this social phenomenon, few social scientists to date have taken much interest in investigating its implications, nor have many been led to study the social and psychological adjustments of the growing number of people who have experienced the trauma and readjustment associated with divorce. To help fill this void has been the objective of Dr. Graham B. Spanier, a sociologist on the faculty of The Pennsylvania State University at University Park.

Dr. Spanier and his associates have been engaged in a two-part study of adjustment to separation and divorce. The first part was designed to gather data by means of some 50 indepth, unstructured interviews with recently divorced individuals. From these data and from other literature on the subject, an interview schedule intended to assess the social, psychological, and economic dimensions of separation and divorce was developed for use in the second part of the study. For this second part, more than 200 recently separated people were interviewed about their marriage, its termination, and its aftermath. They answered the interview developed from phase one. Most of the findings of phase one were confirmed by the much larger group of 200 in phase two.

MARRIAGE STABILITY AND QUALITY—THE BACKGROUND VARIABLES

In a companion work that reviews the extensive literature on marriage quality and stability, Spanier and his colleague, Robert A. Lewis, provide a theoretical context for the separation and divorce studies. Their general theory integrates many variables that a body of research indicates affect marriage quality and stability. The object of this integration is to understand more precisely why some marriages fail and others not only endure but flourish. Reviewing these variables is a reminder of how many faceted and intricate the marriage relationship is, and thus how tangled and bewildering its dissolution may be.

Spanier and Lewis distinguish two primary dimensions that can be used to describe a marriage—its quality and its stability. The quality of a marriage may be influenced first by premarital variables that each couple brings to the marriage. Among these are premarital *homogamy*, that is, sharing similar ages, race, social class, religion, intelligence, values; premarital *resources*, such as degree of education, maturity, social class, length of acquaintance, interpersonal skills, emotional health, self-esteem, physical health; exposure to adequate *role models*; and *support* from significant others. Each spouse brings such social and personal resources to the marriage, and these will in part determine marital quality.

In addition, the satisfaction each derives from their lifestyle together will influence marital quality. These variables include social-economic adequacy (income level and stability, occupational status, whether the wife works with mutual approval); household composition (number of adults, control of fertility); and community embeddedness (approval from a network of relatives and friends). And, lastly, quality is also determined by the deep satisfactions spouses can give each other directly. This factor includes variables such as the degree of mutual positive regard, the amount of emotional gratification, effectiveness of communication, and degree of role-fit. A host of costs and rewards operating on these variables will move a couple along a continuum from high to low marital quality.

But given any level of marital quality, some couples will divorce, and others will not. Although marital quality and stability are highly correlated, for different reasons some marriages of high quality end in divorce, and some marriages of low quality remain intact, despite what may be an intolerable situation.

Why is this? Two controlling variables influencing the *relationship* of marital quality to marital stability are alternative attractions to the marriage (pulling toward its termination) and external pressures to remain married (shoring it up). Examples of external pressures associated with high marital stability are strict divorce laws, strong social stigma toward divorce, or strict adherence to restrictive religious doctrine. Examples of social and psychological forces reinforcing high marital stability include a low evaluation of nonmarital alternatives, a high degree of commitment to marriage, and a high tolerance for marital conflict and tension. The converse of each of these tends to decrease marital stability.

While Spanier and Lewis propose a full-fledged general theory, this brief summary of some of their variables influencing marital quality and stability is a backdrop that gives context and perspective to the divorce study.

In 1976, the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated that for persons born between 1940 and 1949, more than one in three are likely to experience at least one divorce during their lifetime. In addition, between 34 and 45 percent of those who obtain one divorce and then remarry obtain a second divorce. If we add to this the significant number of married couples who separate but never divorce, it is not unreasonable to estimate that perhaps half of all marriages among young American couples will be disrupted by divorce or separation.

Despite recognition that separation and divorce can be disruptive and traumatic, there have been few systematic attempts to find out precisely what processes are involved and what problems are most often encountered in adjusting to separation and divorce. Most of the available relevant data are from clinical case studies and research on persons who attend discussion or counseling programs. Such studies are valuable for leads and insights, but they are based on selected and therefore possibly biased populations, not a general population. Dr. Graham B. Spanier undertook an indepth study of the social-psychological adjustment processes of divorced persons, using a less specialized sample of people.

RESEARCH APPROACH

The study was divided into two separate parts. The first phase, conducted during the fall of 1976, consisted of 50 in-depth, unstructured interviews with individuals who had filed for divorce within the 2-year period preceding the interview. The interviews were structured only to the extent that the research team tried to get a general idea of the couples' premarital and marital history, a detailed picture of the problems and events that led to the separation, as much information as possible about the process of separation and divorce, and an overview of the difficulties that accompany this process. From these case studies, as well as from the literature on marriage and divorce, an interview schedule was constructed for use in the second phase of the study designed to assess social, psychological, and economic dimensions associated with separation and divorce. The schedule was divided into 10 sections: (1) background information about the marriage and the individuals in the family; (2) marital quality and marital interaction; (3) relationship with spouse since separation; (4) social network; (5) legal matters; (6) mental and physical health; (7) children; (8) sexual relations; (9) economics; and (10) conclusions and followup information. This schedule was then used to interview 210 recently separated individuals.

Respondents for both phases of the research were obtained through public records available in Centre County, Pa. Three types of records were used as a basis for sampling: divorce decrees granted, divorce petitions filed, and child and spousal support agreements filed in conjunction with separation. In Pennsylvania, such records reveal all separated and divorced respondents except those who have informally separated, but who have not filed for divorce or requested support.

Potential respondents were sent personal letters informing them of the study. This was preceded by lengthy feature articles in the local newspapers discussing divorce in general, announcing the research, and explaining the purposes and goals of the study. This strategy, used to help establish credibility for the study, was judged by the project staff to be very important for eliciting cooperation. Phone calls followed the letters, and appointments were made for interviews in respondents' homes or project offices, depending on respondent preferences. Follow-up letters and calls were sent, as necessary, for difficult-to-reach respondents, those with unlisted numbers, and those who had recently moved. Babysitters were offered so that respondents with young children could be encouraged to do the lengthy interviews without interruption. Letters were sent to all attorneys in the county informing them of the study, so that they could answer questions directed to them by potential respondents.

The researchers eventually contacted, in person or by phone, 37 percent of the persons whose names they had obtained from the county records. The remainder were primarily people who were no longer residents of the county, although there were also a number of people with no phone listings whom they were unable to contact. Of the 37 percent contacted personally, 61 percent agreed to participate and were interviewed. The other 39 percent refused to participate in the study. Scientists often need to know how far they can generalize findings. In a survey it depends in part on how representative the sample is from which they draw their data. The 37 percent contacted of all those on county public records are not likely as representative as random sampling of the total, had they all still been available. But the number is still much better than anecdotal and clinical data. The 39 percent of those who were contacted but refused to participate also limit generalizability, since it is not known whether findings would have been different had they consented. For such reasons, ingenuity, patience, and caution are as much a part of successful surveys as research design.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The respondents for phase one of the study were 28 females and 22 males, all Caucasian. They ranged in age from 21 to 65 years old, with an average age of 36. The average length of marriage was 12 years, with a range of 1 to 38 years. Thirty-two of the respondents were divorced at the time they were interviewed, while the remaining 18 were separated but not yet divorced.

The time since the couple last separated ranged from less than 1 month to 12 years, with an average of 21 months and a median of 12 months. Only six respondents had been separated for more than 3 years.

Twenty-nine of the respondents were the plaintiffs in their divorce actions, while 21 were the defendents. Sixteen of the respondents were childless, while 34 cases involved a total of 82 children, including the adult children of older respondents. The respondents were fairly evenly distributed across the working, middle, and upper-middle classes.

The sample for phase two of the research consisted of 50 (24 percent) separated persons and 155 (76 percent) divorced persons. Forty-four percent of the sample were male and 56 percent were female. The ages of the respondents ranged from 20 to 67 with a mean of 33. For both the respondent and his or her spouse, the mean level of education was 14 years.

The sample was 12 percent Roman Catholic and 60 percent Protestant. Nine percent stated other religious preferences, and 19 percent were atheists, agnostics, or had no religious preference. The total yearly income was less than $5,000 for 28 percent of the sample. Thirty-one percent of the respondents had a total yearly income between $5,000 and $9,999, while 23 percent had an income range of $10,000 to $14,999. The remaining 18 percent of the respondents had incomes greater than $15,000.

In 70 percent of the cases in which a divorce had been filed, the plaintiff was the wife. Ninety-six percent of the divorces granted had not been contested. Almost 50 percent of the respondents stated that the respondent and his or her spouse jointly were responsible for the breakup of their marriage.

The mean length of marriage was 9 years, with a range of 4 months to 45 years. Eight percent of the respondents had been divorced more than once. There was a total of 279 children in the 128 cases involving children (including the adult children of older respondents), while 38 percent of the respondents were childless. Of the 128 respondents with children, the wife had been awarded custody of the children in 73 percent of the cases. According to 68 percent of the respondent reports, custody was decided by mutual agreement between the spouses. The court decided the custody arrangements for 22 percent of the respondents, and in 7 percent of the cases the children primarily determined their own custody arrangement. Seventy-four percent of the respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with the custody arrangement. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents were receiving child support, while 19 percent were paying child support. Fifty-six percent expressed satisfaction with this amount of support.

DATA COLLECTION

Interviews for the first phase of the study ranged from 1 1/2 to 3 1/2 hours, with a mean length of 2 1/2 hours. The interviews were conducted by four graduate students trained in open-ended, unstructured interviewing techniques. The interviewers prepared field notes, as nearly verbatim as possible, following each interview. The project director and the interviewers read each other's notes and met weekly to share ideas and to suggest topics or questions to be included in future interviews. Approximately 1,000 pages of field notes provided the basis for the findings of the first phase. Interviews during the second phase ranged from 1 1/2 to 3 hours, with a mean length of 2 hours and 15 minutes. The interview schedule contained approximately 550 questions.

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

In analyzing the field notes, Dr. Spanier and his colleague Robert Casto concluded that people who separate and divorce have to make two separate but overlapping adjustments. First is the adjustment to the dissolution of the marriage. This includes dealing with the legal process, working out a property settlement, and working out custody arrangements if children are involved. It also includes informing and otherwise dealing with persons in one's social network, such as family, friends, and business acquaintances. It involves coping with the emotional effects of the dissolution, including feelings about the (former) spouse, such as love, hate, bitterness, guilt, anger, envy, concern, and attachment; feelings about the marriage, such as regret, disappointment, bitterness, sadness, and failure; and more general feelings, such as failure, depression, euphoria, relief, guilt, lowered self-esteem, and lowered self-confidence.

The second adjustment is to the process of setting up a new lifestyle. This can include finding a new residence, living on less (or occasionally more) money, getting a job, or applying for welfare. If children are involved, it includes adjustments to single parenthood if one has custody, or adjusting to occasional and limited visits with the children if one does not have custody. It also usually includes finding new friends and establishing new heterosexual relationships. Finally, it includes an emotional adjustment to feelings such as fear, frustration, loneliness, or inadequacy, as well as possible feelings of freedom, happiness, and heightened self-esteem, if this adjustment is successful.

ADJUSTMENT TO DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

Legal System

Pennsylvania was one of only three States without any no-fault divorce provisions whatsoever. Sixty-eight percent of those interviewed in the first phase of the study expressed strong dislike toward the legal system. For most, the problems were relatively minor, often being primarily a resentment at what one was forced to say about the partner under an adversary arrangement. For 20 percent of the respondents, however, the system presented major problems. Usually they occurred when there were property or child-custody disagreements. Of the 16 respondents who did not specifically complain about the system, 12 had only minimal contact with it, either as the defendant in an uncontested divorce, or as someone who had barely begun the divorce process. Three of the remaining four cases were handled by Legal Aid.

The* [*legal*] *system often encourages couples to become adversaries to a greater degree than they already are.

Because of these findings, Dr. Spanier and associate Elaine Anderson looked at the effects of the legal system in more detail in phase 2 of the study. In that sample, 55 percent of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with the entire legal process of divorce (including the laws, judges, master, domestic relations office, and lawyers). Seventy percent strongly disagreed and 14 percent mildly disagreed with the statement that "divorce laws should require that one spouse be held responsible for the failure of the marriage." A striking 84 percent agreed that Pennsylvania laws should make it legal for persons who are incompatible to dissolve a marriage, while 60 percent disagreed that strict divorce laws lower divorce rates. Twenty-six percent of the respondents agreed that Pennsylvania laws prevented them from obtaining a divorce as soon as they wanted to.

In terms of personal experience in the legal sphere, 84 percent of the respondents had hired or consulted an attorney, and 38 percent consulted more than one. Seventy-four percent indicated satisfaction with the job their lawyer did concerning legal matters. Ratings of lawyer helpfulness with nonlegal matters were somewhat less favorable. While 30 percent regarded their lawyers as extremely helpful and 38 percent regarded their lawyers as somewhat helpful, 32 percent regarded them as not at all helpful. Moreover, 16 percent believed their legal fees were outrageous for the amount of work done, and an additional 36 percent believed the fees were too high. Nearly 73 percent of the respondents reported that they had been informed of the legal fees after the first appointment with their lawyer. Finally, 6 percent reported that their attorneys used delaying tactics to increase their fees, and 27 percent believed their spouses' attorneys had used delaying tactics to slow down the divorce process.

Advice to exaggerate marital problems during the process of divorce was not an uncommon occurrence. More specifically, 20 percent of the respondents maintained that their lawyers encouraged them to make a bigger issue of the separation or divorce than they wanted to. Thirty-seven percent claimed it was necessary to exaggerate problems in the marriage to obtain a separation agreement or divorce. In addition, 26 percent admitted that they or their spouse had lied or trumped-up statements in the hearing to help insure the desired outcome.

The system often encourages couples to become adversaries to a greater degree than they already are. The researchers found a range of feelings about lawyers. The reported effect of dealings with lawyers on the marital relationship seems to have been adverse in some cases. Twenty-six percent of the sample reported that involvement with attorneys worsened the relationship with their spouse; only 6 percent cited improvement, while 69 percent believed there was no effect whatsoever. Twenty-one percent of the respondents had consulted a lawyer jointly with their spouse. Specific advice from attorneys for dealing with estranged spouses included not paying bills (13 percent), not talking to the other person (20 percent), taking money out of the savings account (15 percent), and moving out of the house (13 percent).

People who have experienced a marital separation may encounter the legal system at a number of different points. Most persons retain an attorney to help them with legal matters pertaining to the separation and divorce. In Pennsylvania, individuals who are separated and wish a court-ordered custody or support agreement must see a domestic relations officer in their county. In addition, most Pennsylvania divorce hearings are conducted by a master, an experienced attorney in the county who makes a recommendation to the judge following the hearing. The judge having jurisdiction may also become involved in matters pertaining to separation, divorce, custody, visitation, support, and property settlements.

The data indicate that the legal system is burdensome for individuals in many ways. Over half of the respondents reported dissatisfaction with the legal process, and the overwhelming majority felt that the divorce laws of Pennsylvania should be changed. The data suggest that divorce statutes based on an adversary model encourage collusion and dishonesty; many indicated that their attorneys suggested to them that they act in these ways.

The role of the attorney is that of advocate for his or her client. But an *adversary* divorce statute may force an attorney to put his or her client in an adversary role which is wholly consistent with the client's best interest. Anecdotal evidence suggests that even judges bend the law when necessary to expedite a divorce decree which is assumed to benefit all parties involved. Defenses against divorce such as collusion, condonation, or recrimination are sometimes overlooked, for example, if not formally contested. Attorneys, masters, and judges often attempt to facilitate a divorce wanted by both spouses, even when a justifiable defense to divorce exists. In any case, there is a great deal of frustration which the system produces for those who must negotiate it, and hence it is legitimate to look for the source of this difficulty. If we look at why attorneys and other factors in the legal system contribute to interpersonal discord or dishonesty among separated or divorced persons, we are led to the adversary divorce statutes.

Such statutes do not reflect the reality of the marriage and divorce experience nor are they sensitive to social and psychological needs. Collusion, condonation, and recrimination are widespread. Marriages rarely fail as a result of wrongdoings committed by only one spouse (Lewis & Spanier 1978). Furthermore, there is serious doubt about whether the adversary system encourages reconciliation. Respondents often reported being given advice and conducting themselves in ways that decrease the likelihood of reconciliation.

However, the data lead to more favorable conclusions about the impact of the legal system on the social-psychological adjustments which *follow* marital separation. Analyses indicate that the problems encountered in the legal arena do not significantly influence postseparation adjustment. It had been expected that persons who encountered problems with the legal system might report poorer adjustment. It was found, however, that those least satisfied with the legal process were neither more nor less likely to have adjusted. Thus, while the legal system can be trying for individuals experiencing a marital dissolution, the social-psychological adjustments are not adversely affected by such difficulties. Research based on this study found that factors such as economic status, dating relationships, and health status were considerably more important in predicting a person's overall adjustment.

There is a need, then, to examine adversary divorce statutes in relation to how well they fit the reality of marital and postmarital interaction, how well they meet the needs of the citizenry, and to what degree they facilitate the possibility of reconciliation among persons who may be so inclined. Fortunately, the study suggests that those who do experience dissatisfaction with the legal system are not likely to find subsequently that this made their personal adjustment more difficult.

Children

In every marriage with dependent children, the children were the catalysts for some of the major adjustment problems. These problems included worrying about the effects of the separation on the children, deciding who should have custody, and, for those without custody, feelings of loneliness or guilt. Most of the parents interviewed in phase one seemed to be trying to work together to minimize the effects of the separation and to do what was best for the children in settling custody. Most of the respondents said they were making an effort not to let their marital difficulties affect their child's relationship with the other parent.

The researchers did find three notable cases, however, where it seemed that children were used either to punish the other spouse or to get a better settlement. Not surprisingly, when they were told about the children being used in this way, these behaviors were attributed to the spouse not being interviewed.

Social Network

Eighty-four percent of the interviewees in phase one stated that their friends, relatives, and other acquaintances were generally supportive during the separation process. In the few instances where friends or family were not supportive, however, this lack of support seemed to increase the overall difficulties in adjusting to the separation, especially the emotional adjustments.

In most of the cases where there was little or no support from family members, they had strong feelings against divorce in general. Several respondents said that it was difficult for their parents to understand or accept the fact that they were divorcing. One woman had not told her mother she was getting a divorce, even though she saw her several times a week, because "it would hurt her too much," and she couldn't help anyway because "she wouldn't understand how I could do it."

Only a few respondents had friends who were actively hostile after the separation. In these cases, the respondents reported feeling very hurt by their friends' attitudes. They felt that this lack of support from friends made the overall adjustment to the separation much more difficult.

Some respondents, on the other hand, isolated themselves. Some did this, they said, because they didn't feel like being social: "Those that are happy, I don't want to go near. They make me feel terrible." Others felt like a third wheel or that their couple friends might consider them a "threat" now that they were single. Whatever the reason for isolation from friends or family, it was found that those persons who did not make new friends had a very difficult time adjusting.

Kinship Interaction

Kinship interaction was another factor looked at in more detail in phase two of the study. A review of previous literature on separation and divorce by Dr. Spanier and colleague Sandra Hanson indicates that kin also play a vital role in the process of adjustment to separation. One of the variables, the receipt of support, has been singled out by several authors as being valuable for the separated person's adjustment. Kin often prove helpful by making their homes available, offering services such as child care, providing companionship, and lending money. Separated individuals end up receiving economic and emotional support from extended kin, even though there are no institutionalized norms delineating the direction and degree of obligation. This support might allow the individual to continue to play necessary roles and fulfill ordinary obligations at work and in the community. Support, then, satisfies certain needs in the new role situation and, as a result, is important for a good adjustment. One can predict that support typically will come from kin during the adjustment process, and that this source of

> ***Kin, . . . by virtue of their special status and the emotional investment they may have in the marriage, may react to the separation or divorce situation in a way which would hinder, rather than help, adjustment.***

support will lead to better adjustment because of the intimate and customarily supportive nature of the interaction. In addition, it is likely that support from extended kin does not involve some of the burdensome obligations of support from other sources. For example, interest may not be charged for monetary loans. Further, kin support may be preferable to support from friends, coworkers, or commercial establishments because there is less feeling of obligation to return the favor.

Evidence suggests that sociability varies in quality and consequently varies in its ability to fulfill needs for all persons (Weiss 1975). Previous research suggests that the social relationships with extended kin will have a more positive effect on satisfaction with life than other social relationships. The typically comfortable and intimate social settings surrounding kinship relations presumably are likely to produce interaction conducive to more positive social-psychological adjustment. Spanier and Hanson were thus able to formulate and test, using data from phase two of the study, two current hypotheses:

1. The greater the amount of *support* received from extended kin following marital separation, the better the adjustment to separation.
2. The more *social interaction* with extended kin following marital separation, the better the adjustment to separation.

A positive adjustment to separation includes regaining individual autonomy following a marital separation. Broadly, regaining individual autonomy can be conceived of as a process of achieving a pattern of life where the primary point of reference is no longer the separation or divorce. "Social interaction" denotes any sort of direct contact with an individual or group. The concept of "support" given to the separated person includes lending or giving money, offering services such as babysitting or home repair, and giving moral support.

In the first place, kin may not have the opportunity to provide support or interaction. In many nuclear families there is a desire to be close, but not too close, to extended kin. Many marital problems, then, may never be reported to relatives (Weiss 1975). It is possible that kin are unaware of marital problems at the critical time when separation is being discussed, seriously considered, and carried out. Thus, relatives may be unable to give support at a critical time and consequently may have little influence in an adjustment process which is already underway.

But even when interaction and support are available from kin, they may not help the separated or divorced person's adjustment. Previous theory and research on extended kin relations and marital dissolution led to the hypothesis that kin *interaction* and *support* are variables which contribute to better adjustment to marital separation. Findings from this present research do not support the hypothesis. The sample studied had a high incidence of interaction with and support from kin, yet their adjustment was not contingent on these variables. Several critical factors pertaining to kin interaction may help explain the finding.

Presence or absence of familial approval or disapproval of a separation was found by Goode (1956) to relate to adjustment. In his sample, 60 percent of the respondents' families approved, and 20 percent disapproved, of the separation. Respondents in Goode's sample were less likely than those in this survey to say that friends had approved or disapproved. According to Goode, when there is high approval or disapproval, the involvement of kin in the conflict is likely to be great. The most favorable situation for low trauma, he states, is one in which major reference groups are viewed by the individual as being relatively indifferent to the divorce. The highest proportion of high-trauma cases were found by Goode when various groups actively disapproved of the divorce or separation.

Relatives, especially parents, may sometimes feel that their commitment (or bond) to the separated person obligates them to evaluate the decision to separate. Parents especially may feel they are free to comment on the separation, to criticize it, and to disapprove or approve of it (Weiss 1975). Parents may feel that a marriage has been ended frivolously and may urge reconciliation. They may find it hard to understand the concept of "incompatibility" and may argue for "trying harder." Parents and siblings may somehow feel they are to blame for the breakup. A recurrent complaint in Weiss's (1975) sample of divorced persons was that separated individuals wanted to be treated with acceptance, but they do not want intrusion. On the other hand, parents want to know and understand all that has gone wrong.

Kin, then, by virtue of their special status and the emotional investment they may have in the marriage, may react to the separation or divorce situation in a way which would hinder, rather than help, adjustment. The support and interaction which kin offer may be tempered by evaluation, approval, criticism, and other intrusions which they feel free to voice.

Although separation, and subsequently divorce, is a common phenomenon in American society, it is possible that there continues to be a lack of accepted norms for dealing with it. Because of the resulting inability of kin to provide unambiguous support and interaction, and because of the lack of prescriptions for reaction to marital separation, an ambiguous situation may be created making adjustment to separation difficult. The ambiguities may center around when and how to give financial, moral, and service support or the redefinition of individuals within the kinship structure. Goode (1956) points out that our society is typified by an emphasis on the single family unit. This situation may leave some separated persons virtually on their own.

A majority of the parents of the respondents in this study were born in the early 1900s. Many in this generational cohort do not favor divorce. A divorce in the family may be a traumatic, even disgracing, event. While support may be forthcoming, it may be difficult to offer, and negative judgments can come easily.

Support from and interaction with extended kin were not found in this research to be related to postseparation adjustment. A great majority of the sample received significant amounts of support and interaction from kin, but these variables are not predictive of adjustment. While kin may offer a variety of unwanted evaluations and thus create additional stress, the support and interaction they offer are not matched by any other group of people. Those without kin support may go supportless. Nevertheless, the data indicated that kinship relationships do not help the recently separated person with important social-psychological adjustments. Support is forthcoming but seems to do little to enhance adjustment. As new cohorts of parents and relatives emerge, and as divorce becomes a more institutionalized and accepted phenomenon, familial reaction to divorce may become less burdensome for the separated person, and future researchers may find kin support and interaction more helpful in adjusting to separation and divorce.

Emotional Factors

The degree of initial emotional difficulties appeared to be related to how unexpected the separation was for the person interviewed and whether the respondent favored or opposed the separation. It was hypothesized that *the degree to which the separation is sudden and unexpected is positively related to the degree of initial emotional problems*. In phase one of the research, respondents' initial emotional reactions to the separation were rated as mild (38 percent), moderate (36 percent), or severe (26 percent). Respondents were also classified according to whether: (1) they initiated or expected the separation (78 percent), or (2) they had found it sudden and unexpected (22 percent). Of those whose initial reaction was rated as severe, 62 percent stated that their separation was sudden and unexpected. Only 17 percent of those whose initial emotional reaction was moderate and none of those with a mild reaction stated that their separation was unexpected. Thus, this hypothesis was confirmed.

While a sudden and unexpected separation produces strong initial distress (Weiss 1975), the long-term effects are quite variable. Some of the respondents with unexpected separations took a long time to recover, while for others the recovery was rapid. In the long run, the degree to which problems persist seems to be primarily a function of how well the individual is making the adjustment to a new lifestyle.

Attachments

An important area of concern in discussing the emotional adjustment to the dissolution of the marriage is the individual's feeling toward the (former) spouse. Weiss (1976) suggests that continued feelings of attachment for the (former) spouse are nearly universal after marital dissolution and are a major cause of emotional problems which follow separation. Therefore, Spanier and Casto examined in more detail whether or not, following the dissolution of the marriage, individuals reported continuing attachment and what effect this attachment had on the adjustment to the separation.

As evidence of attachment they looked for such things as: (1) specific expressions of feelings of love, affection, or stated attachment for the (former) spouse; (2) continuing thoughts about the (former) spouse, including negative thoughts; (3) efforts or desires to contact the (former) spouse; and (4) efforts to learn about the (former) spouse and what he or she is doing. They excluded activities pertaining to the divorce proceedings, children, or support payments. On the basis of these criteria, they divided the respondents into three categories: (1) those still with strong attachment (36 percent), (2) those with mild attachment (36 percent), and (3) those who showed no evidence of attachment (28 percent).

While Weiss (1976) found feelings of attachment and distress to be nearly universal among his respondents, he points out that Goode (1956) found evidence of separation distress in only two-thirds of his cases. Weiss attributes this discrepancy, at least partially, to the length of time between the separation and the interview in Goode's survey. The findings of Spanier and Casto were closer to Goode's (28 percent with no attachment). But all findings suggest that feelings of attachment remain for at least one spouse, which may intensify emotional problems.

An equally important issue is the effect that feelings of attachment have on the overall adjustment to the separation. The researchers hypothesized that *the greater the attachment to the (former) spouse, the more difficult will be the adjustment to the separation*. To rate the overall adjustment of the respondents in each of these groups, the respondents were divided into two categories: those (22 percent) who were judged by the researchers to have adjustment problems sufficiently serious that there was some impairment in the majority of the areas we examined (e.g., legal, emotional, social, heterosexual, and economic), and those who were having only mild or no problems in these areas (78 percent).

Twenty-eight percent of those who still had strong attachment were having serious problems adjusting, while 22 percent of those with mild attachment and only 14 percent of those with no attachment were in this category These percentages were in the direction hypothesized but were not statistically significant. Both the extent of our respondents' reported attachment and its apparent impact on their adjustment were considerably less than that reported by participants in Weiss's studies (1975, 1976).

There are at least two possible explanations for the discrepancy between Weiss's findings and Spanier's. One is that Weiss's respondents were all people who had sought professional help in adjusting to their separation. Thus, they may be a self-selected group who sought help because they *are* still attached. Spanier's method of sampling, on the other hand, produced respondents who ranged from those with little adjustment difficulty to those with severe adjustment difficulty. Thus, attachment may not be as important a factor for all separated persons as Weiss suggests. A second possibility, however, is that because his interviews took place over several sessions, Weiss may have elicited much deeper feelings from his respondents than Spanier and his colleagues were able to elicit from their respondents.

ADJUSTMENT TO A NEW LIFESTYLE

Economic Adjustments

Economic adjustment was the only area of adjustment in which significant sex differences were found. Only one man reported major economic problems caused by the divorce. Most men held a full-time job before the separation and either continued in that job or obtained a different job as good or better. Twenty-three percent of the men reported that they were somewhat, but not significantly, worse off economically since the separation. However, the large majority reported that they were as well or better off than before.

For women the opposite was true. Thirty-nine percent, primarily younger women and those married for a short period, reported that they were about as well or better off economically than before the separation, but most said that they were significantly worse off. Many of those not working before the separation or only working part time were having real difficulty in getting a good job. For many women, economic problems affected their whole adjustment. Some women had been out of the labor market for a long time or had never been in it. Many of them had few marketable skills. The presence of young children made it even harder to find work, and babysitters' wages often cut deeply into their earnings.

Discrimination

Several women reported discrimination against separated and divorced women in addition to a general discrimination against women in terms of both hiring practices and pay rates. Some also reported discrimination in housing and credit because of being separated or divorced. Quite a few women (and some men also) objected to indicating "divorced" or "separated" on job applications.

One common area of concern reported by older women who had been married for many years was being cut out of their husband's social security and insurance programs, even though most of the accumulation in these programs had occurred during the period of their marriage. Even among the older women who had good jobs, there was much concern about what they would do after retirement.

Children

Whether or not they had child custody, all parents reported the necessity of major adjustments. Parents with principal custody as well as those without custody experienced adjustment problems related to the children. Fathers and mothers with custody reported the same problems, and fathers and mothers without custody had similar problems. The only sex difference found was that mothers who did not get custody reported more public censure than did fathers who did not get custody.

Parents With Custody

The parent who receives principal custody is faced with the difficulty of fulfilling alone some of the roles previously performed jointly by two parents. It is hard to get time away from the children, and this creates problems with work, dating, and social life in general. Parents with custody report feeling a lot more responsibility, more pressure in parenting, and a greater sense of being trapped by the children.

One complaint many custodial parents have is that the other parent, who only sees the children occasionally, does not have to deal with all the problems of discipline and may, therefore, be more attractive to the child. While there are hardships involved in having principal custody of the children, most of those who have custody are glad they do. Many of them cited their children as a major source of support during their separation or divorce.

Parents Without Custody

Those parents who do not have custody have to adjust to being with the children less often, which most of them see as a serious deprivation. They miss their children a great deal and have real regrets about their lack of interaction with them. Several parents stated that the main thing, or in some cases the only thing, they regretted was losing the children.

More parents report feeling guilty about "deserting" their children. They also are dissatisfied with the limitations and artificiality of their relationship with the children. Many of the parents without custody also found their children to be sources of support through the divorce process.

Social Adjustments

Although most of those interviewed reported that their friends were supportive, half also reported growing away from many of their close friends after the separation. This was especially true if the friends were ones they had shared with their spouse, particularly if the friends were also couples.

For the most part, when there was a growing apart from old friends, the separated individual was just as responsible, perhaps even more so, as were the friends. Typically, the individuals felt that they didn't really fit in the group any more now that they were single. Occasionally they also reported feeling that as a single they were a threat to married couples, either because they represented the possibility of failure in marriage, or more directly because they might be considered a sexual threat.

Many of the people interviewed were quite successful at finding new friends or had already developed their own circle of friends even before the separation. When they did have an intact network of friends, their adjustment was made much easier. For those who were losing their old friends but were unable to find new ones (8 percent), and those with no real friends during or after the marriage (34 percent), the process of adjustment to separation and divorce seemed much more difficult.

Because of the impression that social support and activity together constitute an important factor in helping a person adjust to a separation, the researchers looked more closely at a hypothesis similar to one tested by Raschke (1974): *The more social interaction the separated individual has (with relatives, friends, and the community), the fewer will be the adjustment problems.* To test this hypothesis, Spanier and Casto related the overall degree of adjustment (using the same two categories as previously) to the degree of social interaction. Respondents were classified as having either moderate-to-high social activity (52 percent) or low social activity (46 percent). Only 8 percent of those with moderate-to-high social activity reported serious adjustment problems, while 39 percent of those with low social activity reported serious problems. Thus, this hypothesis was supported. The analysis was unable to assess the direction of causation, but it is reasonable to suggest both social interaction may positively contribute to adjustment and that good adjustment is conducive to social interaction. Bidirectional influences may also exist in the next hypothesis.

Heterosexual Relationships

A related hypothesis was: *Separated individuals who participate in heterosexual dating or cohabitation relationships will have fewer adjustment problems than those who do not.* The researchers found that of the 60 percent of the respondents who were dating regularly, living with someone of the opposite sex, or remarried, only 7 percent were having serious adjustment problems. However, 45 percent of those with little or no heterosexual activity (40 percent of the whole sample) were having major problems in their adjustment, confirming the hypothesis. Dating a variety of people with no close or steady relationship seemed to be about as helpful as one very close relationship.

Many of those not dating also corroborated the hypothesis by discussing how much they wanted to form new relationships. A common set of problems with these people was where to meet others and how to start dating again after not dating for so long. Several women also said it was difficult to establish new relationships, because the only thing men want from a divorcee is sex.

Emotional Factors

Individuals having problems adjusting to a new lifestyle report much depression, loneliness, frustration, low self-esteem, and low self-confidence, as well as heightened negative feelings toward, and regrets about, their (former) spouse, marriage, and the separation. Conversely, to the extent that the individuals are successful in establishing a new lifestyle, they are more likely to feel they did the right thing in divorcing, to be more tolerant of their (former) spouse, and to report positive feelings such as freedom, relief, happiness, heightened self-esteem, and heightened self-confidence.

Factors Influencing Adjustment to Marital Separation

In an analysis which attempted to examine the *relative* influences of several factors on the adjustment to marital separation, Professor Spanier and his associate, Margie Lachman, used multivariate statistical techniques to study the separate and combined influences of dating relations, economic stability, health, and social interaction.

As expected, economic status and good health consistently were associated with better adjustment. An unexpected finding was that frequency of social interaction with relatives and friends was *not* related to adjustment. Further research is needed to examine this relationship more closely.

The hypothesis that dating would be positively related to adjustment to separation was also supported. Those who were dating most frequently were better adjusted than those who were not.

DISCUSSION

The findings from this study suggest that, in the transition to separation, establishing a new lifestyle is more difficult than adjusting to the dissolution of the marriage. Raschke (1974) also looked at factors reported to affect postdivorce stress and found that variables Spanier described as part of the adjustment to a new lifestyle—high social interaction, economic success, and sexual involvement—are important to postseparation adjustment.

While creating a new lifestyle appears to be more important to overall adjustment than dealing with the dissolution of the marriage, more research is needed to fully understand the interrelationship between these two processes. Preliminary findings from this study suggest that those who successfully launch a new lifestyle have less difficulty dealing with problems related to dissolution of the marriage than do those who have problems adopting a new lifestyle. Other problems with the marital dissolution, such as feelings of regret, attachment, and bitterness toward the spouse, actually may increase over time if failures in creating a new lifestyle become apparent. Some of the respondents who reported the least initial problems and who, in some cases, reported that separation had made them feel free, excited, or eager about life for the first time in years were at the time of the interview very despondent and showing signs of separation anxiety. In all cases, these were respondents who were having major economic or social problems.

While successfully establishing a new lifestyle seems to aid in the adjustment to the marital dissolution, it should not be assumed that the relationship between these two variables is in one direction. It is much more likely that the association is in both directions. As examples of adjustment affecting lifestyles, some respondents who were having legal difficulties had little energy left to deal with the demands of a new lifestyle. Others said they would not feel right dating until the divorce was final. Also, where the dissolution was particularly sudden, some respondents needed a recovery period before they wanted interaction with others. For others, the severity of the initial shock seemed to act as an impetus for establishing new relationships.

The qualitative analysis from phase one of the study demonstrated that the adjustment to separation and divorce can be a challenging task. It was found that the difficulties which people encounter vary greatly, depending on the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of their marriage, the support they receive as they make the transition from marriage to separation, and the nature of the postmarriage lifestyle. Children, parents, friends, the former spouse, individuals in the legal system, and dating partners play important roles in the life of a recently separated individual.

While one's ability to negotiate the transition adequately will depend on economic stability, custody arrangements, social and sexual involvements, and other factors, it is unlikely that one could easily predict the nature of postseparation adjustment. Nevertheless, this is a worthwhile goal, since knowledge gained about adjustment to marital separation would be extremely helpful not only to social scientists but also to those experiencing the pain of marital dissolution.

Currently the work is at the descriptive level in the study of adjustment to separation and divorce. Many more questions, some of which have followed logically from the findings of this study, remain to be answered. Eventually it may be possible to integrate data at this descriptive level by discovering explanatory principles. Some of the suggestions generated in this research are aimed in this direction. Such understanding would enable scholars to develop strategies for intervention. Certainly application of these findings (e.g., to counseling settings) does not have to be completely delayed. The results may be timely and useful but should be applied with caution and tempered by professional experience and good judgment.

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IMPROVING COMMUNICATION IN MARRIAGE

Principal Investigator: Gary R. Birchler, Ph.D.

*Author: Herbert Yahraes**

Some married couples are reasonably or even very happy; others, miserable. Short of observing them over a long period, are there ways of distinguishing one from the other? Can the unhappy ones be changed?

Gary R. Birchler, a clinical psychologist who conducts marital therapy and research at the Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital and teaches at the University of California Medical School, both in San Diego, answers "yes" to both questions.

ANALYZING GOOD AND POOR MARRIAGES

To detect differences between happy and unhappy marriages, Birchler, Robert L. Weiss, of the University of Oregon, and John P. Vincent, of the University of Houston, studied 24 couples. These had been chosen from among those who answered newspaper advertisements asking for "couples currently experiencing marital distress" or "happily married couples." The 12 happily married and the 12 distressed couples were matched in such factors as age (averaging about 26 years), length of marriage (about 4 years), and educational level (16 years for the happy group and 15 for the unhappy). But the distressed group averaged 1.5 children per couple, a level almost three times as high as the happy group. The investigators did not determine whether or not this difference had any effect upon the state of

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*See note at end of chapter.

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the marriage. Socially, the couples ranged from middle class to lower middle class.

However, in a later study, two groups of distressed and nondistressed couples did not differ significantly in any of these measures, including number of children. In both studies significant differences were still found between the distressed and nondistressed couples on most of the tests measuring positive and negative marital behaviors.

Each couple in the Birchler-Weiss-Vincent project interacted in several laboratory situations. First, the couples were asked to talk for a few minutes about anything they pleased. Then came a 10-minute period of problemsolving when they were asked to resolve their differences of opinion concerning typical marital conflicts they had been given to read about. The husbands read descriptions in which a wife usually appeared responsible for the trouble; the wives had been given stories in which a husband usually seemed at fault.

For example, one story tells about a husband who is angry because his wife has just bought a pair of shoes, her fifteenth. They get into an argument about it, and the husband presents his view that fifteen pairs of shoes are unnecessary. This is the version that the husbands read. The wives get a little different version. It seems that the wife in the story does have quite a few shoes, but she had collected them over 20 years, and because she didn't have any to go with the particular dress she wanted to wear, she felt justified in buying another pair.

While reading, the husband and wife each filled out questionnaires concerned with their reactions to a series of such double-versions, each presenting some marital problem. The experimenter then chose five problems on which they had disagreed and asked the couple to come to some resolution of the conflict. While they tried to do so, they were video taped.

When husband and wife discuss one or more of their own real-life problems, Birchler is convinced that a more trustworthy appraisal of a couple's problemsolving skills can be made because the differences between the happily and unhappily married are even more striking. Therefore, in his later research he used, in addition to the sample problems, ones from the subjects' own lives. Unhappily married couples have considerably more difficulty with their real problems than with the concocted ones.

Next, each member of a couple interacted with a "stranger" of the opposite sex during a period of free conversation and a period of problemsolving.

The principal measure used in each study to determine the basic behaviors employed by each person was the Marital Interaction Coding System (MICS), developed recently by the Marital Studies Center of the University of Oregon. This technique enables observers to record specific behaviors occurring in a discussion between partners. The scoring system is based on just what the observer sees and hears as the discussion takes place; it does not make inferences, as some other tests do, about a person's intent or relative power in the marriage. For this reason, Birchler considers it a rather objective measure of how a couple is communicating. A study by other investigators using a similar instrument found that nonverbal behavior, such as smiles, nods, frowns, pats of approval, and eye-to-eye contact, appeared to discriminate between happy and unhappy couples even better than the words they used. The results of Birchler and his associates agree with these findings.

Some interesting outcomes occurred, most of which the investigators had expected—and most of which, for that matter, a man in the street might not have found very surprising.

In the first place, in the problemsolving situation (though not during the conversational period), the happily married couples showed a significantly larger number of *positive* behaviors—both verbal and nonverbal—than the unhappy couples. Such behavior included, for example, cooperation, compromise, appreciation and approval of the other's viewpoint, the utterance of "please" and "thank you," and gestures indicating positive emotions. Moreover, the distressed couples showed one and a half times as much "negative" behavior—principally in the form of interruptions, criticism, and disagreements with the spouse—as the happily married pairs.

In the second place, when a married person was paired with somebody else's spouse, that person got along much better than with his or her own mate.

"People in distressed relationships," as Birchler puts it, "acted distressed when talking with their spouse. But when they talked to somebody else's spouse, they shaped right up: They became better listeners, smiled more, interrupted less." Interacting with their own spouses, married persons, whether happy or unhappy, made significantly more negative responses and significantly fewer positive responses than when interacting with strangers.

This finding is contrary to the speculations of some earlier authorities who thought that the closer the relationship, the better a couple would cooperate in solving a problem. It is a common observation, though, that persons are often more polite to strangers than to mates. "Familiarity breeds contempt," said Mark Twain (adding "—and children").

"Of course," Birchler comments, "we all tend to be more polite with a stranger than with our spouse. People have to be aware of that tendency. They have to use the same kind of communication skills with their spouse that they would with a stranger. This means they have to listen better. They must not show the kind of behavior—in words or gestures—that turns off the partner and gets the two of them fighting. We found this to be particularly true of the distressed couples. But *all* the couples tended to display more nonfacilitative behaviors with their own partners. That seems to be a general tendency in marriage, and it has to be overcome. Marriage partners ought really to think about this—to make a conscious effort to facilitate conversation. After a while this awareness about good communication should become a habit; we don't have proof yet that it does, but it seems reasonable to suppose that it does."

Married couples were asked to record at home every instance of pleasing or displeasing conduct of their partners. Examples are "spouse criticized my appearance," and "spouse took out garbage." Each partner also kept a daily record of conflicts and arguments. On the average, and allowing for differences in the time spent together, the ratio of pleasing to displeasing behavior was almost seven times as high among the happily married pairs as among the distressed couples.

Further, the happily married couples, compared with the others, engaged in a significantly greater frequency of recreational activities with their spouses. Such activities included going to sports events, the movies, church affairs, visiting friends, or taking a walk. During 1 month, happy couples reported engaging in recreational activities together more than 500 times; unhappy couples, 200 fewer times. The distressed individuals were significantly more likely than others to engage in recreation alone or with people other than their spouses.

In short, when social behaviors were predominantly of the complaining, criticizing, interrupting, or ignoring types, couples engaged in fewer pleasurable activities together, including sex. Later research showed that happily married pairs engaged in sex twice as often as the others.

In the study reported thus far, one group of couples could be described simply as being happily married; the other, unhappily married. In a later study, however, Birchler and Linda Webb, a research associate, compared *very happy* couples with those who were *very unhappy*; a comparison which made the differences between the two groups stand out more clearly.

The very unhappily married couples this time were the first 50 who met certain criteria: They had applied or been referred for marital therapy to either the psychiatric outpatient department of the VA hospital or the nearby University of California, San Diego, Psychiatric Clinic; the couple and the therapist mutually decided that treatment for marital discord was appropriate; and the average couple's score on a certain marital adjustment scale (known as the Locke-Wailace) was less than 100, suggesting a significant degree of marital maladjustment.

The very happily married couples were 50 university employees who certified that neither partner had ever sought professional counseling for marital difficulties and that they were currently very happily married; moreover, their average score on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Scale was more than 100, suggesting no significant marital trouble.

The population was mainly middle class or lower middle class. A few lower-class couples were included, as were a few making $40,000 a year.

Each couple was administered a number of behaviorally oriented questionnaires. One indicated the degree of marital adjustment as compared to normal and to divorced couples. Another assessed how much change one spouse would like to see in both partners in matters such as finances, sex, arguments, child discipline, interesting talk, and 29 other marital problem areas. A third, as in the study reported earlier, assessed the kinds and frequencies of leisure activities engaged in with one's spouse, alone, or with other people. A fourth was concerned in part with sources of sexual training and with perceptions of the partner's bad habits, among them pouting, table manners, excessive cleanliness, and possibly excess drinking.

To determine if such factors as age (which varied from an average of 29 years for the happy couples to 38 years for the unhappy), length of marriage (which averaged 6 years for the happy group, almost 12 years for the unhappy), and length of schooling (which averaged almost 16 years in the happy group and a little more than 13 years in the other), made any difference, the investigators studied subgroups. These comprised about 20 happy and an equal number of unhappy couples who were closely matched on all such factors. With these carefully matched smaller groups, the results did not differ significantly from those obtained with the complete 50-50 sample.

Some of the major results are reported in the following sections.

AREAS OF CONFLICT

The very unhappily married couples in the Birchler-Webb research reported four times as many marital problem areas as the very happy couples (28 vs. 7), suggesting that the unhappy partners were less able than their happy counterparts to solve marital troubles effectively. The difficulty seemed to lie not so much in either of the partners but in the interaction. Together, they had an aversive problemsolving style.

> ***. . . among very happy couples, the problem area most frequently reported was sexual relations.***

Both groups expressed concern about shortcomings in such areas as showing appreciation of each other, initiating interesting conversations, and expressing emotions clearly.

Surprisingly, among very happy couples, the problem area most frequently reported was sexual relations. Birchler believes the explanation may be that such couples had relatively few problems and sexual interaction can stand improvement in most marriages. Among very unhappy couples, the problem reported most often was "expression of one's emotions clearly."

Additional groups of distressed couples are being assessed, but for this group of unhappy partners sex ranked only eighth or ninth as a problem. Birchler points out an interesting and important implication: In working with distressed couples, sex should be considered less critical at the start than it now generally is. If distressed couples consider a number of other problems more important, perhaps only when at least some of these other problems are successfully treated, and the partners are more confident of being able to get along together, can sexual adjustment begin to be of major concern.

Nevertheless, Birchler adds, even when it is ranked quite low, "sex is still usually a major problem, because they haven't had it much, or haven't had it for a long time, or the quality is poor. Occasionally it's their major complaint when they enter the Family Mental Health Program at the VA hospital, but usually the sexual problem cannot be resolved until a lot of the other problems are worked out."

The investigators did find that some couples got along well in most areas but that one partner had a sex problem. In unusual cases, Birchler says, "An inability to be close and get sexual needs met eventually gets so frustrating that partners begin to haggle and become irritable, and this situation may lead to other problems." But typically, a couple first has difficulty meeting other aspects of the relationship. Only then does sex wind up being a problem. "In a sense," as Birchler puts it, "it's difficult to have sex with somebody you don't like."

Comparing the groups of very happily and very unhappily married couples, Birchler doesn't know if the specific sexual difficulties are similar or different. "For example," he and Webb say, "it might be more likely in distressed marriages that dissatisfaction and lack of involvement in sexuality is secondary to negative feelings and marital conflict around other major relationship problems. In contrast, for happy couples who experience far fewer marital problems, those who do report dissatisfaction with their sexual relationship may be referring to more primary sexual difficulties relating to educational or skill deficits." The researchers add that in such cases "the simple provision of information or relatively short-term 'sex therapy' . . . is indicated and effective."

In this study it was not possible to determine which came first: the sexual problems or the other ones. However, it is

Birchler's "strong clinical impression," from having done both "marital" and "sex" therapy, "that most often dissatisfaction with the sexual aspects of marriage is secondary to other problems . . . . Partners' hostilities and resentments toward each other are often acted out or reflected in their sexual interaction. For example, the withholding of sex, usually by the female, has typically been a function of unhappiness with other aspects of the relationship. The characteristic husband and wife *quid pro quo* of something given in exchange for sex, whether consciously acknowledged by the couple or not, is apparent in many dysfunctional relationships."

Usually sexual problems "are inextricably bound together" with communication problems. Therefore, helping the partners to improve their communication skills and to apply them to specific and long-standing problems, such as finances and discipline, often results in a direct and lasting improvement in sexual relations.

"The first step," Birchler observes, "is to get people to communicate better. Sex is the subject that people have the most difficulty communicating about. No one teaches us how. Parents for sure don't do it. There is a big need, then, for better communications so that each partner knows what the other likes and doesn't like and is afraid of and hopeful about. And another big need is for skill."

BAD PERSONAL HABITS

Besides many more marital interaction problems, as compared with the very happy partners, the very unhappily married couples also reported that their spouses had three and a half times as many bad habits (selected from a checklist of 27 items). Those most frequently reported and the proportion of husbands or wives reporting them for each group are given below.

What do the findings of the Birchler-Webb research add up to? Birchler believes they clarify the goals for treatment or intervention. In regard to problemsolving, for instance, the goal should be to increase the number of positive utterances and gestures or other behaviors exchanged. Further, the research strengthens the view that marital distress does not result from the behavior of one mate but from the interaction of both mates.

Complaints of
Unhappy Wives

- Jealousy and bad temper (46%)
- Omitting courtesies (38%)
- Bad driving habits (38%)
- Sulking (36%)

Complaints of
Unhappy Husbands

- Jealousy (38%)
- Explosive outbursts (38%)
- Nagging (38%)
- Sulking (34%)
- Bad temper (30%)

Complaints of
Happy Wives

- Underemphasis on neatness and punctuality (20%)
- Unhelpful in house (12%)
- Bad driving habits (12%)
- Neglects yard (10%)

Complaints of
Happy Husbands

- Explosive outbursts, nagging (14%)
- Overemphasis on cleanliness (14%)
- Sulking (12%)
- Bad driving habits (12%)

Why do some marriages have more problems than others? Birchler and Webb note several possible answers. A few marriages may simply start with more problems because the two persons are mismatched. Or some marriages may develop more problems owing to such external events as unavoidable difficulties with relatives or children, or mental or other forms of illness. For example, one authority says that couples who decide to keep an autistic child at home rather than in an institution almost invariably end up in divorce court. For the majority of unhappy marriages, though, Birchler and Webb prefer a third explanation. These couples, the investigators hold, make original problems worse or accumulate new ones because their styles of interaction and problemsolving are ineffective, if not destructive.

WRONG WAYS OF WORKING FOR A CHANGE

Since people have different needs, Birchler points out, people inevitably want to change one another. "The problem is that we've usually been taught to try to change people by negative kinds of procedures."

As a typical example, the investigator tells about a child, shopping with her mother in a supermarket, who insists on having a candy bar. The mother keeps saying "no." At first the child only sulks, but with continued denials the child learns to cry, to threaten a tantrum, and eventually, perhaps, actually to throw a tantrum. In order to avert or stop the tantrum, the mother buys the candy. The child learns that the way to change her mother is to escalate her own negative behavior, and the mother learns that the way to shut it off is to give in: a vicious circle and one that is repeated in other situations.

Birchler believes that such an interaction does not pull mother and child closer together and that, if the negative strategy on the part of the child continues, she and the mother eventually grow farther and farther apart.

Such an interaction often happens in marriage. The attempt to change a spouse's behavior through sulking, nagging, complaining, and denying requests—whether for a meal on time, prompt arrival home from the job, cleanliness, or sex—tends simply to make the problem worse. We do learn to get people to change their behavior through nagging, complaining, griping, and other negative methods, but we don't feel very good, and the relationship ultimately suffers.

Birchler and Webb offer the case of the wife who nags her husband to take out the garbage or to pick up his clothes. He may obey her just to stop the nagging. "Consequently, the wife's nagging has been reinforced (or rewarded) and will probably occur again whenever clothes are not picked up or the garbage not taken out." Such chores are likely to be neglected again and again because the husband, though he hates the nagging, perversely seeks to punish the wife through behavior that irritates her and goads her into a renewal of her complaints. "In couples who adopt aversive, coercive methods of behavior change," these investigators state, "each succeeding interaction may well result in a similar or more emotionally laden negative interchange." Far better if the wife, when the husband spontaneously or upon suggestion does something that she wants, rewards him.

From observation and testing, this research team knows that typically the behavior a partner wants to change is seemingly trivial, such as "husband picking up after himself" or "wife having husband's shirts ironed." But, as day-to-day annoyances accumulate, they "may become the basis for continual marital conflict." Elements of conflict and accord exist in all marriages; but when a behavior-change strategy is predominantly positive, the marriage partners can almost invariably be described as in accord, or happy. When the strategy is predominantly negative, however, the partners can be considered in conflict, or unhappy . . . .

"It has been a common experience . . . to find that couples seeking marital therapy are engaged in virtually no rewarding activities together. . . . In many cases the introduction or reintroduction of rewarding couple activities, ranging from the assignment of short walks to weekends away, has been helpful if not critical in helping couples revitalize and improve their relationships."

TURNING UNHAPPY MARRIAGES AROUND

On the basis of his own and associates' research and observations, Birchler estimates that about two-thirds of unhappy marriages can be turned into happy ones through therapy, which may last anywhere from 3 months to 1 year.

Birchler's research-supported position is simply this: Just as it takes two people to make a marriage, so it takes two people to make a marriage either better or worse. Only in fairly rare instances, such as when, unknown to the partner at the time of the marriage, one person is alcoholic or mentally ill, can most of the blame for a distressed marriage be ascribed to one of the partners instead of to both. Most of the time, Birchler reports, it is a 50-50 proposition—or at least a 60-40 proposition. In a distressed marriage, his work indicates, the problems spring from the behavior of both partners, not just one. There is a breakdown in communication, in interaction. The behavior of each partner exacerbates or at least serves to maintain that of the other.

As one example of therapy intended to change behavior, Vincent, Weiss, and Birchler explain that "if a husband's nagging complaints are followed by increased attention from his wife, a suitable training program may be instituted in which the wife is systematically taught to ignore complaints and simultaneously taught to reinforce (or reward) reasonable requests." These investigators add: "If the interpersonal determinants of behavior can be identified and measured, so then can they be changed. However, if problemsolving behavior is viewed (simply) as an individual trait, then the potential for change is remote. To return to our example, if complaining is the enduring trait of someone's husband, his downtrodden wife must either learn to live with it or find another man."

There are other theoretical approaches to marital therapy, among them: communications theory, based on observations that a family with a schizophrenic offspring frequently communicates in peculiar ways, though whether these odd communication patterns are the cause or the result of the sickness has not been determined; client-centered or nondirective approaches, based primarily on the work of well-known psychologist Carl Rogers, in which the troubled person is encouraged to talk about his problems and, as he does so, begins to see what he can do about them; and psychoanalytically oriented approaches. Often, in practice, certain aspects of these approaches are offered in combination.

The various types of marital therapy have not yet been compared from the standpoint of long-term effectiveness, but behavioral marital therapy is becoming increasingly widely used.

Behavioral marital therapy uses the techniques of behavior modification. It is Birchler's experience that behavior modification, which some authorities prefer to call "social learning," can turn an unsatisfactory marital situation around in the majority of cases—if the couples really want to change. Both partners must be observed and treated together.

The theory behind behavior modification holds, in essence, that when any type of desirable behavior is rewarded—by approval, affection, congratulations, a piece of candy, a smile, *anything*—it is strengthened or reinforced and is more likely to occur again. When an unwanted behavior is responded to by some kind of punishment, it may cease for the time being and may recur less frequently for a while. But negative procedures tend to hurt the relationship between the two persons involved and are generally less effective than their positive counterparts.

Several investigators have presented evidence that at the least behavioral marital therapy is certainly more effective than not doing anything. In one study, for instance, 10 unhappily married couples were treated, and in most cases their marriages improved. Another group of 10 couples answered the same questionnaires as the first group and went through the other assessment procedures but did not receive therapy. At the end of the treatment period for the first group, the second 10 couples were assessed again—and showed no change.

Not all marriages are worth saving. By the time couples come in for treatment, Birchler has found, many have experienced years of damaging interaction. "They're really kind of burned out," he says, "and the primary reasons they are still together are the problems involved in separation. The divorce process, dividing up the money, what to do with the kids, a new life, the fears of being alone—such considerations often keep people together, for the wrong reasons, of course."

Birchler gives a couple the opportunity to see for themselves whether or not they really want and are able to make the changes necessary for an improved relationship. With behavior therapy, or the social learning approach, the answer becomes apparent fairly soon—often within the first month. If it is negative, the therapist may find it appropriate to suggest that the chances of substantially improving the marriage are poor and perhaps they should consider ending it. "By that time," Birchler has found, "either one or both of them have been wanting to have that happen, which is why they did not change."

Although there are several methods of improving distressed marriage through behavior modification and negotiated contracts between husband and wife concerning their behavior, Birchler and his associates prefer so-called "good-faith models" for most cases, because these have built-in rewards or gratifications. For example, the husband agrees to wash the dishes in the evening (a problem area), and the wife agrees to rub his back (a reward). If he fails to wash the dishes, he gets no backrub (*or* he must pick up clothes—a punishment). The wife agrees to cook gourmet meals (a problem area). If she does so, the husband agrees to talk with her for at least 20 minutes (a reward). No gourmet meal, no 20-minute conversation (*or* the wife must wash the car—a punishment).

Is alcoholism a common marital problem and if so can something be done about it?

"Yes" to both questions, says Birchler, provided the problem drinking is in the initial stages or the couple has some positive regard and communication skills. If so, Birchler or another therapist analyzes the couple's interaction "to see whether the wife is doing things which tend to provoke and/or maintain the drinking behavior." (In Birchler's experience, the problem drinker usually has been the man.) According to this investigator, the wife's nagging, complaining, and other ways of reacting to the drinking may simply make the husband drink more. By changing her behavior—by dropping her critical attitude and using her intelligence to make him happier and more at peace with himself—she might well reduce or eliminate his dependence on the bottle. Of course, he may have been alcoholic when they got married. But it is Birchler's clinical impression that what's going on in the marital relationship often helps to maintain the drinking or make it worse.

COMMUNICATING BY WORD AND BY ACTIONS

This investigator and his associates find that people are much more aware of their verbal communications than their nonverbal expressions. A husband, for instance, who looks at the floor most of the time he and his wife are talking, is signaling worry, disinterest, or some other attitude that does not improve communications. But he is not likely to realize the message he is sending.

When the researchers ask a distressed couple to talk for 5 minutes as if they were the happiest couple in the world, their verbal communication improves. They are less likely to interrupt, disagree, complain, make an excuse, or blame the other partner. But there is not much improvement in their nonverbal communication: They still tend to ignore the partner, fail to look into each other's eyes, appear depressed, or in other nonverbal ways signal disinterest, distrust, or antagonism.

"So," Birchler says, "we try to help people become aware of these nonverbal communications and to change not only how they talk to each other but also how they communicate by their other behavior."

The therapists also supply feedback. They tell the marriage partners whether, for example, they scored in the "usually satisfied" range or in the "very dissatisfied" range. They show the couple problems each member checked off as the most troubling. They also point out those activities that one partner wants the other to increase or to decrease.

Then, to get the husband and wife thinking about how, even unaided, they could better their lives, the therapist asks, "Even if you weren't in treatment, what are some of the things you might do to improve your relations?"

One commonsense answer, now supported by research, is for each mate to let the other know more clearly his or her views on their life together. In other words, the prime need in many troubled marriages is for better ways of *communicating* between the partners. This is so whether the couple *thinks* their problem is meeting the mortgage payments, disciplining the children, or improving their sexual relations. A good marital therapist can in most cases help the man and the woman at least to ease considerably this basic problem of communication.

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MARRIAGES THAT ENDURE

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> *Since, in our culture, men and women are generally assumed to marry for "love," which is considered the basis for marriage, it is surprising that the quality of the marital love relationship has received relatively little empirical attention.*
>
> —Anthony Fiore and Clifford Swensen

People young and old are paying more attention to that fact of life known as "aging." They are paying more attention, too, to marriage—to marital relations, marital dysfunction, marital counseling. There are counseling sessions for couples who are contemplating marriage and clinics to save the family once it is formed. Oddly, aging married couples have been little noticed, either as a collective statistic or as individual joy or anguish.

Clifford H. Swensen, Jr., Ph.D., Professor and Director of Clinical Training in the Department of Psychological Sciences at Purdue University, has been studying the dynamics of marriage for some time. Since 1974, his particular focus has been on the pleasures and problems of the elderly married. He is learning why, for some, "'til death do us part" means no more than grimly hanging on while, for others, it is the best time, "the last of life for which the first was made," as Browning wrote.

Swensen points out that, historically, marriage is not as stable an institution as people assume and that the conception of marriage has changed even in the last 20 or 30 years. More surprising, "statistics for marriage breakup in this country, which I think go back to 1850, show that the rate in the United States has not changed. There have been little up-jogs and down-jogs, but essentially it's a straight line. This is because the breakup of marriage by death has gone way down, and the breakup of marriage by divorce has gone way up, which suggests the possibility that the only way you used to be able to get out of it was to die and that now people are getting divorced instead." He believes that the divorce rate is leveling off, and will probably decline. He thinks also that views about what marriage is and how it is arranged will continue to change.

The statistics suggest another dimension. Many researchers whose work Clifford Swensen has studied have made the point that, until the last 50 years or so, one partner in the typical marriage died about the time the last child left home so that few marriages survived beyond all the children's departure. A few inferences can be drawn: The average couple marrying today and living out their expected span of years, well into their seventies, can expect a marriage lasting about 48 years; the typical couple will experience the "empty nest" in their late forties or early fifties, leaving them around 25 years in the post-childrearing stage of marriage. In other words, the last 50 years have witnessed the development of a whole new stage of marriage that had existed before in relatively few cases.

In the next few decades, Swensen and his colleagues Ron W. Eskew and Karen A. Kohlhepp, as well as other researchers, will be discovering what older married couples are doing with this stage of their lives. Is the quality commensurate with the quantity?

> *Seldom, or perhaps never, does a marriage develop into an individual relationship smoothly and without crises. There is no birth of consciousness without pain.*
>
> —C.G. Jung

FOR BETTER, FOR WORSE

In the late 1950s, Swensen was developing a scale to measure Love Expression and looking for a way to compare all kinds of relationships at all ages. His sample ranged from age 17 to about 83 and included a few older married couples. These were only a part of the original study but the beginning of his current interest, when he found relatively little research on the over-65 age group and even less on those aged 50 to 65. His reading did indicate, though, a wide divergence of opinion as to the quality of marriage in the life span. As he observed (1978a), "One camp holds that marriage satisfaction is a straight line headed downward from the time of the wedding until death, while the other camp holds that marriage satisfaction is curvilinear, heading downward until the children have left home, then reversing direction." Swensen's conclusion, based on the literature and on his own research, is that marriage may become either better or worse, depending upon the people involved and the situation in which they live.

Swensen has pointed out that the duration of marriage, the mere passage of time, is not in itself a significant variable. Significant variables are the changes which take place within that passage of time (1978a). These variables are ever-changing; they are related to the two people in the relationship and are peculiar to the situation. This researcher agrees with many who postulate that there are stages of development for adults just as there are for children and that those stages develop from the interaction of psychological, sociocultural, and biological factors, each factor normally readjusting as changes occur in another factor.

The stages of development emerging from this readjustment have been divided by family life consultant and writer, Dr. Evelyn Duvall, into eight categories. The people of the Swensen study would fall into her last three categories. The sixth, or "launching stage," is the time when the children start to leave home; the family is growing smaller and the parents' involvement with their children less. Duvall's term for the seventh stage covers the period between the time the last child has left home and the husband retires. This is the "empty nest." (With the word "syndrome" added, it is often applied to women who presumably have no life other than that of their children and husbands.) The final stage, "the aging family," begins with retirement and ends with the death of one of the spouses. It is of this period that Duvall wrote (1971, p. 435), "The challenge of senescence is ego integrity without which despair may mark the final years. The goal of this period is successful aging through continued activity and comfortable disengagement."

The Couples in the Survey

To find couples who would be interested in taking part in their study, the Swensen team contacted churches, centers for senior citizens, and retirement groups. A few couples referred them to friends. Each prospective participating couple received a letter explaining the project and, later, a telephone call so that they could ask questions about their involvement and the purposes of the research. Of the interested couples who were visited by a team member, very few refused to take part. About 40 percent, a total of 224 couples, provided material complete enough to be used in the study and met the only criteria, that they be over 50 years of age and married for 20 years or more.

Of these 224 couples, 141 came from Tippecanoe County and 10 from Marion County, Ind.; sixty-one lived in Palm Beach County, Fla.; the rest lived in Indiana County, Pa. and Oklahoma County, Okla. with 4 from various other locations.

There was an almost normal distribution over the educational range; high school education was the mode for the group, with 4.2 percent having a grade school education and 2.7 percent a professional or graduate degree. Two-thirds had less than a college education and one-third had completed college or some graduate work. Thus, the 448 people in this study had more education than this age group as a whole in the general population.

The study group was composed of two cohorts, pre- and post-retired, retired defined as working less than full time. The younger group had a mean age of 54.94 years, an average length of marriage of 31.54 years, and an average of 2.78 children; they were a little over 23 years old when they married. The postretirees averaged 67.5 years of age, had been married an average of 40.13 years, and had 2.33 children; their average age at the time of marriage was 27.49.

Many of the postretired group had moved after retirement, and the two cohorts differed significantly in the average length of time the members of each had lived in their present community, the still-employeds averaging 22.46 years and the postretirees 18.77. This difference, however, is relatively less important than are the sociohistorical backgrounds of the two groups. The older group had married about 40 years ago, the marriages for many delayed and the number of children reduced because of the Depression. The preretirees had married younger and had more children. Most of these marriages had occurred during World War II, which altered the course of the early married years. The demographic differences of the two cohorts can be counted numerically and averaged statistically. In the course of the research, however, Clifford Swensen was to discover more subtle, but real, cohort differences which he attributed to each cohort's time in history.

The Variables in the Study

The 224 couples Swensen and his colleagues studied between 1970 and 1977 were in the midst of adapting to the changes wrought by retirement, usually of the husband, and by the departure of the children. In the beginning, these two factors, retirement and relationship with children, were the important variables for the study. Much of the research Swensen cites about the latter factor suggests that those having more extensive interaction with their children seem more satisfied in life than do those having little contact; however, the parents are more satisfied after their children leave home. Ideally, then, contact between parents and children should be frequent but not on a constant, living-under-one-roof basis.

Little research has been focused on the relationship between the preretirement older person and his children or, more importantly, on how the extent of interaction between parents and children affects the marriage. Swensen writes that Maas and Kuyper, in *From Thirty to Seventy* (1974), "hint at a possibility." In their study of older married couples they noted that there seemed to be no mutuality between the older husbands and wives in life styles or personality. Their observation of living habits, especially, showed little overlap in the contexts between mothers and fathers, except for interaction with their children. That is, as a couple ages, each one becomes more individualistic and independent, with the one common area of interaction maintained being that with their children. This suggests that couples who have more interaction with their children will have more with each other and, thus, a more mutually satisfying relationship (Swensen, et al. 1977).

The other variable, crisis of retirement, changes not only the accustomed pattern of life but the role and identity of each of the principals and their relationship. Some of Swensen's reading suggested that the decline in satisfaction in couples who have been married for some time is due to increased role strain (1978a). "Role strain would . . . seem to be an inevitability, since, as the family changes, the function of husband and wife within the family changes, and as the husband and wife change as people, their manner of playing their roles within the family also changes, thus producing strain." One may wonder whether strain may not occur, also, if either or both of the parties tried to play a role in the same old way, attempting to ignore changes in personality and circumstance.

More crucial in the impact of retirement than identity or role problems is the nature of the marriage relationship itself. Swensen's own research has only strengthened his agreement with the conclusion that men who are strongly committed to their marital interactions adjust more successfully to retirement. He believes that the factor of commitment should be significantly related to the marriage relationship and should interact with any life stress—retirement, childbirth, job changes, moving. So commitment, defined by Swensen as an attitude that is confirmed by overt behavior, was added as the third variable.

The fourth variable, sex, was added because Swensen's reading and prior research had suggested that marriage is not the same for husband and wife and that the experience of marriage may be different for older as well as for younger couples.

How Can Marriage Be Measured?

Swensen's series of studies of interpersonal relations, particularly that of marriage, is based on the formula, B=f(P,E), proposed by Lewin in *Field Theory in Social Science* (1951), which states that behavior is a function of the person and the environment. Swensen applied the formula to analysis of clinical cases, later expanding it as a model for studying *inter*personal relationship. In his formula, Relationship=f(Person 1, Person 2)Environment, relationship is a function of the two people within it and the situation within which it occurs. He sees his formula as useful in studying interrelationships of a wide variety of personality and situational variables as they affect the marriage. By employing the same dependent variables or outcome measures in the formula, the various studies can be related to each other.

In this context, then, *commitment* and *sex* are variables within the person, or *person* variables. *Relationship with children* and *retirement*, since they are external to the people involved in the marriage, are viewed as situational or *environmental* variables. The *dependent variable* is the *marriage relationship*, measured in this series by two scales that are independent of each other. These instruments were used to measure specifically how the relationship is expressed and what kinds of problems arise in it, an approach different from earlier studies of other investigators which measured marriage satisfaction by a variety of scales.

The Love Scale

Known more formally as the "Scale of Feelings and Behavior of Love," the Love Scale was developed originally from interviews with approximately 200 people who were asked to describe their love relationships. A total of 388 items derived from these interviews were administered to 1200 people of varying ages who completed the scale for their relationships with parents, spouses, siblings, offspring, or friends. Their responses were factor-analyzed 42 times by relationship and age group; the resulting 120 items describing various aspects of the love relationship were copyrighted in final form by Swensen and Frank Gilner in 1968.

Swensen and others who have used this scale in various settings are confident of its validity as a measure of the gamut of love interaction or of various aspects of that interaction, as calculated by the six subscales. These are: I. Verbal expression of affection; II. Self-disclosure of personal facts about oneself; III. Tolerance for the eccentricities and faults of others; IV. Moral support, interest, encouragement, and concern *shown* for the other; V. Feelings for the other that are *not* verbally expressed; and VI. Material support, doing chores, and giving gifts. The overall score, called the "Love Scale Index," is obtained by combining the six subscale scores: I+II+III+ IV-V+VI. Subscale V is *subtracted* because Swensen and others have found that *unexpressed feelings tend to be higher in the troubled marriage relations and lower in the apparently untroubled* (Fiore and Swensen 1977).

Samples of the 120 questions indicate the depth and relevance of the scale, for instance: "The loved one tells you that he(she) feels that you get along well together," "You tell the loved one that you feel that your relationship has improved with time," "The loved one is even-tempered and kind in his(her) dealings with you," or "You feel free to talk about anything with the loved one, but you have never actually told him(her) this."

Since none of the questions would apply to every relationship, the instructions state that the answer sheet must indicate whether the answers are made about husband, mother, sister, etc. Respondents are told to "answer as quickly as possible, with no omissions" and to "mark the choice that comes closest to describing the way you behave, talk, or feel toward the person you love, *as the relationship exists at the present time.*" The choices for each answer are *never, occasionally*, or *frequently*.

The Marriage Problems Scale

The Scale of Marriage Problems, prepared by Clifford Swensen and Anthony Fiore in 1974, was obtained from people with normal marriages and from those seeking counseling for marriage problems. Not all of the problems are appropriate for every marriage, but, as the instruction sheet states, "Every married person will report some of these as a problem . . . . For example, if you have no children, then the problems that have to do with raising children will not be appropriate for you. Answer all items. If they are not appropriate for your marriage, mark your answer 'a. This is never a problem.'"

The 43 questions on the scale range from "One partner feels that he or she always has to 'give in' to spouse" to "Wife feels husband doesn't share his day with her." In between are such statements as "Partner objects to some of the same-sex friends spouse 'runs around' with," "Disagreement on what the children should be allowed to do and what they should not be allowed to do," "Partner objects to spouse's way of dress such as male's pants too baggy or female's skirt too short, etc.," and "Dissatisfaction with type of affection shown in public." A number of items are concerned with money—"too much money on some things and not enough on others," the family budget, or living beyond the family's means.

These questions were taken from an original, real-life list of 100 problems, and it could be said that "there's something here for everybody." The questions and possible replies (a. this is never a problem; b. this is some problem or a serious problem; and c. this is a serious problem or a constant problem) have been factor analyzed on the basis of six subscales. These are: I. Problemsolving and decisionmaking; II. Childrearing and home labor; III. Relatives and in-laws; IV. Personal care and appearance; V. Money management; and VI. Friendships and expression of affection. Added together, these provide the Marriage Problems Total Score. Subtraction of a subscale from the total score shows the impact of that element on the whole.

The Interviews

The structured interview began with the usual demographic questions—age, sex, education, and current employment/retirement. Next came questions about the couple's children: their ages; where they lived and, if away from home, distance and frequency of contact by telephone, mail, or visits; need of help in sickness or financial stress, on either side, and whether the need was met; and last, the parents' view of the children's willingness to make sacrifices for their parents. Childless couples answered a question or two about any continuing contact with a young person from childhood and the frequency of contact now that the person is an adult.

The interviewers found that the largest proportion of couples in their sample would be classified as modified extended families. For this reason, differentiation in the analysis of findings from this portion of the study was based on 1) frequency of interaction with children by visit, telephone, or letter, and 2) propinquity to the child whose residence was closest to the parents'. "High contact," was defined as interaction with at least one child once a week or more, and "low contact," was parent-child interaction less than once a week. A "high" propinquity couple had a child living within 10 miles. "Low" propinquity defined couples whose closest child lived more than 10 miles away. Couples with no children were ranked "Low" in both contact and propinquity.

The Swensen group assumed from reviewing previous research that attitudes between husband and wife in long-lasting marriages would be toward commitment to each other and that confirmation of these attitudes would appear in the way the couple solved problems. They found, though, that many couples could say little about this process besides, "Well, we talked it over and decided to . . . ." Such a reply "seemed to make commitment a little too dependent upon memory and verbosity, rather than on a deep-felt awareness, concern, and care for the welfare of the other . . ." so they determined to investigate further (Swensen 1977).

To Clifford Swensen, high commitment means that the relationship was formed and has been maintained because of the qualities of the spouse as a person. Low commitment means that the reasons for making and maintaining that special connection were largely non-personal factors—children, religion, habit, or pattern of living. Responses to two questions usually asked during the interviews seemed to differentiate clearly among the couples as to their extent of commitment: A. What were the reasons for your decision to marry him/her rather than to remain single or marry someone else? and B. Why do you think your marriage has lasted as long as it has? The researchers devised a scale for the answers to each question and summed the scores for an index of commitment. Each statement made in reply to Question A was rated on a 5-point scale with regard to *emphasis on the other person as a person*, using the following criteria:

1. Reasons for marrying appear totally unrelated to any qualities or attributes of the other person, with the decision apparently motivated by external circumstances such as: just wanted to get married or it was the natural thing to do; thought he could provide well or she could have my children, keep my house, and look after me in my old age; tired of current living arrangements; needed security of

marriage; others wanted it; everybody else was doing it; sexual gratification; or other reasons for which any available and appropriate member of the opposite sex would have been suitable as a marriage partner.

2. Indication of characteristics desired in a spouse are very general and nonspecific to the partner; i.e., common interests, similar backgrounds, but no mention of anything which differentiates spouse from others.
3. References to spouse are somewhat more specific than in 1. or 2., mentioning such things as personality, physical attraction, intelligence, congeniality, "falling in love," but decision still appears to have been motivated, at least in part, by other criteria. In this category, it appears that the spouse seemed to fit best what the individual was looking for at the time or that the actual decision, regardless of the person's desirability, was prompted or aided by other factors—a desire to change life style; search for a particular type of spouse; pregnancy; wish to share interests; readiness to settle down; desire for a family.
4. Externally motivating factors or circumstances in the decision to marry are not mentioned. Characteristics of the spouse are cited, are more specific than those mentioned in 2., and may be mentioned in relation to those of the respondent, such as same likes and dislikes, common backgrounds, attitudes, consideration, mannerisms, or attributes as compared to others.
5. Reasons for marrying are in terms of attributes of the other *as a person*. These attributes distinguish the other from anyone else and are in terms of the other only. The statement may include common interests, backgrounds, values, etc., but should indicate that more unique, individual qualities were recognized and considered by the respondent.

Question B, "Why do you think your marriage has lasted as long as it has?," was rated on a 5-point scale with regard to emphasis on *the other person in an interpersonal relationship*. Rating for each statement was based on these criteria:

1. Emphasis is on factors *not* directly related to the interpersonal relation between partners. The entire statement should be in such terms as finances, the children's welfare, outside influences, "no choice," avoidance of problems which might have terminated the marriage, performance of prescribed roles, or solely own actions or those of spouse only. *Example*: "He thinks that each spouse fulfilling prescribed duties is an integral part of a successful marriage. For a husband, this means being a good provider and a good influence on the children, and spending time with the wife and children. For the wife, this means keeping an adequate home and 'waiting on the husband with a smile.' He feels, also, that it is important to keep the honeymoon atmosphere alive and not get stagnant, and that one way to do this is to keep active socially."
2. One third or less of the total statement contains some mention of interpersonal factors or they have minor importance so that most of the reason still concerns only noninterpersonal factors. *Example*: "She thinks their marriage has lasted mainly because they both want the same things—a nice home, children, and they both have seen their own homes break up and they want to avoid that. 'Plus, we thought a lot of each other even if it wasn't a big romance.' She also feels religion has been influential. 'I'm not against divorce, but I'm for marriage.'"
3. About 1/2 of the statement concerns the interpersonal relation as in point 5 (below), and about 1/2 emphasizes external factors as in point 1. *Example*: "The main thing is that he doesn't believe in divorce. Loving, getting along with each other, and being honest are important, too. He thinks it's good they had the same interests and likes and adds that being raised during the Depression helped because it taught him to do without."
4. The noninterpersonal factors make up 1/3 or less of the statement and are of relatively minor importance; however, emphasis on the other member *as a person* may not be as apparent as in 5 (below). *Example*: "She feels their marriage

has lasted because they have respect for each other. Each wants to do whatever would be helpful and good for the other. She thinks religion has been helpful, but that it certainly is not the whole thing." And, "She feels their marriage lasted basically because of mutual interests, likes, and aims."

5. The entire statement emphasizes the interpersonal ties between them, especially the other as a person in the relationship, and may be stated in terms of personal behavior, characteristics, needs, wants, and feelings. *Example*: "She feels her marriage has lasted because of a basic love and respect for each other, a love that has grown over the years, a sharing and growing together. She believes that love changes as two people become more comfortable with each other. 'In the beginning, sex is primary, but later it becomes, not less important, but feelings deepen. People learn to become friends as well as lovers.'"

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

> *Preferred classified ad of the week turned up in the personals: "Darling Sally: We had some happy days in our 31 years of marriage. I remember one in 1964 and another in 1972. Love, your husband, B.K."*
>
> —Lou Boyd

Using analysis of variance (ANOVA), the team found the means of the subjects on the total Love Scale and on each subscale for retirement status, frequency of contact with children, and commitment. They computed also the main effects and interaction effects of the variables of retirement, frequency of contact with children, and commitment on each subscale. The same analyses were done for each Love Scale subscale, with the measure of parent/child interaction to "contact" and "propinquity"; these two variables correlated with each other at .69. This suggests that the frequency of interaction with children is a function of how close the children live to their parents. Each measure produced approximately the same results, not surprising in view of their correlation.

The same ANOVA was worked out for each environment and person variable in relation to each subscale of the Marriage Problems Scale and in relation to the total scale. In general, retired couples were found to be lower on overall love expression than were preretired couples. More specifically, they measured lower on the subscales of self-disclosure, tolerance, unexpressed feelings, and material evidence. Table 1 shows the means on the whole Love Scale Index and Marriage Problems Totals, using the variables of retirement status, frequency of contact with children, and spouses' commitment level.

Table 1—Means of the Subjects for Retirement Status, Frequency of Contact with Children, and Commitment Level of Spouses

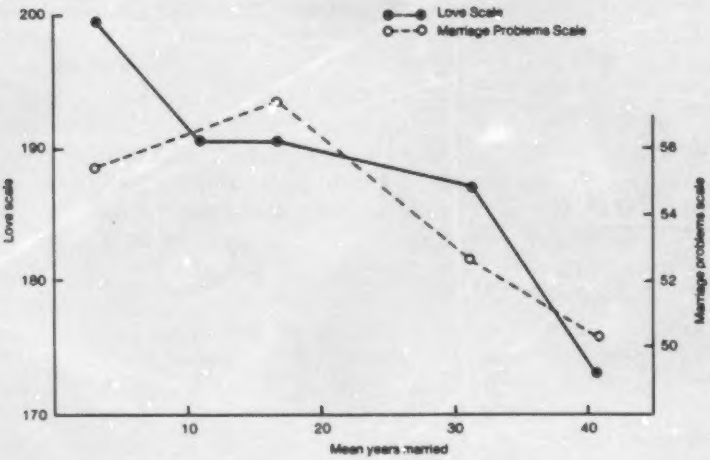
	Number per Cell for ANOVA		*Means on Love Scale Index*		*Means on Marriage Problems totals*	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
High commitment	26	42	180.92	188.76	48.04	51.36
High contact						
Low commitment	65	61	183.48	180.15	52.85	53.31
Preretirement						
High commitment	11	5	184.82	195.80	52.64	50.00
Low contact						
Low commitment	10	8	193.50	190.63	49.20	53.75
High commitment	17	30	169.65	161.57	51.41	49.23
High contact						
Low commitment	39	37	167.00	171.84	48.82	52.19
Postretirement						
High commitment	13	18	176.08	170.67	47.85	42.94
Low contact						
Low commitment	26	17	169.65	163.47	50.38	51.29

None of the original hypotheses was supported completely. The first, that "both husbands and wives in the committed marriages will cite greater love expression and fewer problems in the marriage than those in the less committed group," was supported only in that spouses in the more committed marriages report fewer problems. As judged by the subscales, couples low on commitment had more total marriage problems and more problems particularly in "problemsolving and decision-making," "relatives and in-laws," "personal care and appearance," and "expression of affection and outside relationships." In other words, commitment seems to be the variable mainly affecting marriage problems. Marriages with high commitment, a high awareness of each spouse's unique qualities, are those in which each can usually agree with the other on what their problems are and solve them together when they arise.

The results gave no support to the second hypothesis, that husbands and wives having extensive interaction with their children will have greater love expression toward each other and fewer problems in marriage than those who have less interaction or who have no children. In other words, despite the assumptions drawn from prior reading and investigation, Swensen found the amount of interaction with children to be related in the negative direction to unexpressed feelings and to material evidence of love: the more interaction with children, the less love expression between husband and wife and the more problems in childrearing and home labor.

The third hypothesis was half right. Instead of: "Both husbands and wives in the postretirement group will have greater love expression and fewer problems in marriage than the husbands and wives in the preretirement group," it should read: "Both husbands and wives in the postretirement group have lower love expression but fewer marriage problems than those in the preretirement group." The latter were high on total number of problems on the "propinquity" analysis, and very high on both "contact" and "propinquity" analysis for the marriage problems subscales pertaining to relatives and in-laws and to money management. Love expression and marriage problems as a function of years married are compared in figure 1.

Figure 1. Expression of Love and Marriage Problems as a Function of Years Married.



There was slight support for part of hypothesis 4. This had predicted interaction effects, with the highest amount of love expression and the least number of marriage problems found in couples in the postretirement, higher interaction with children, high commitment group, and the least amount of love expression and the greatest number of problems in couples in the preretirement, low interaction with children, low commitment group. In short, interaction does not affect the expression of love; however, there is an interaction effect on the measurement of husband-wife differences on marriage problems. There is a high level of disagreement on problems in the preretirement group having low commitment and low interaction with children. High commitment and low interaction with children among postretirees showed low disagreement on problems.

The fifth hypothesis had predicted that the significant difference between husbands and wives would show wives lower on the Love Scale in verbal expression of affection and self-disclosure and husbands, especially postretired, higher on problems in the instrumental areas of the Marriage Problems Scale, that is, in childrearing and home labor and in money management. This hypothesis was not supported. Instead, there was no consistent difference between husbands and wives, and any difference between pre- and postretirement groups seemed to be in the inclination of postretirees to wind down both love and problems.

In short, the data indicated to Swensen that postretirement couples have less love expression and fewer marriage problems than the preretirement couples; committed couples have fewer problems and higher agreement on what their problems are than the uncommitted couples; interaction with children seems to have little effect on the marriages of older couples but, to the extent that there is an effect, it is slightly toward the creation of more problems.

UNTIL DEATH DO US PART

> *"Any marriage," W.H. Auden once wrote, "is infinitely more interesting and significant than any romance, however passionate." Well, I was never sure of that. But I have always thought that any family—with its history and its soap-opera intensity—was more interesting than any other collection of people.*
>
> —Ellen Goodman

Rejection of large portions of the hypotheses and a summing up based on analyses of variance computed for the variables of retirement, parent-child interaction, or commitment tell little, really, about older husbands and wives in today's world. Nor does this study represent all possible problems. It is not about older people, cold and hungry, waiting in their age-ghetto for the Social Security check but afraid to venture out to the mailbox. Few of the Swensen couples could be considered to be living such economically marginal lives. All subjects were white; occupations ranged from unskilled laborer to professional, the mode being a subprofessional white collar worker. Essentially, then, this is a study of middle-class couples. The results, however, represent a commonality in relationship problems and solutions, expression of love, disappointments, and satisfaction among older marrieds. "This study began by raising the question of whether marriage was better or worse in the later years. The answer seems to depend upon what is meant by better or worse, and for which people." He also wrote: "Perhaps the most important conclusion . . . is that the effect of aging and retirement is not a unitary phenomenon." Realization that the effect depends essentially on which people are being considered led Swensen to further observation of *commitment*, since that seemed related to the other factors, sex and interaction with children, but appeared to have no interplay with retirement (Swensen, et al. 1977).

Commitment and Ego Development

The researchers were impressed by the finding that those whose relation to their spouses is central to their lives had markedly fewer marriage problems and were more likely to agree on what problems they did have. They concluded that a couple's effective communication of personal thoughts and feelings and perception of each other as unique are qualities that prevent confusion and conflict with other relationships that are only tangential to the marital relationship.

As Swensen observed, to amplify his theories on personal dynamics within relationships: "Specific pieces of behavior or specific verbal statements can be combined to form a personality characteristic. I've done a lot of research looking at relationships as a function of personality characteristics of the people in the relationships, but I never got any consistent results until I ran across Jane Loevinger's idea of ego development. I felt that this would probably be a useful personality characteristic in some of my own research, in learning how people relate to each other."

Ego development is the progress of the ego, the organizing aspect of the personality, from the simple, undifferentiated state of the infant to the highly integrated and differentiated state of the adult. Jane Loevinger's scheme divides this development into six stages, with transition levels as well between the fourth, fifth, and sixth stages; the name for each of these is a "term from common speech, the name of some broad human function or characteristic," according to Loevinger (1976).

The first three stages are almost self-explanatory: Presocial, Impulsive, and Self-Protective. The last stages and the transitional levels are of particular concern to this study by Swensen, et al., since measurement by the Loevinger and Wessler Sentence Completion Test showed that the couples surveyed fell between the fourth, or Conformist Stage, and the fifth, or Autonomous State. Specifically, these stages are:

- Conformist Stage, in which relations are governed by appropriate rules, the primary concern is with approval or disapproval rather than values as such, and behavior is more in terms of external manifestation than of internal motivation or psychological factors. Loevinger says this is the mean level of ego development in adult Americans;
- Self-Aware Level, in which people subscribe to Conformist rules which they realize are sometimes conflicting, not always applicable, or undesirable in outcome—reservations which they keep to themselves;
- Conscientious Stage, in which values are internalized, concern is more with personal values than with others' opinions, and relations with others depend more on underlying motivations and awareness of the needs of others;
- Individualistic Level, in which there is greater concern for emotional dependence, an increased sense of individuality and tolerance, and awareness of inner conflict and of emotional dependence despite material independence;
- Autonomous State, in which the person perceives and appreciates others' individuality and accepts them as they are, recognizes, accepts, and copes with inner conflicts, and cherishes relationships and self-fulfillment; and
- Integrated Stage, the most complex, in which the individuality of others is not only accepted but valued, the conflicts of the Autonomous State are transcended, and one's sense of identity is consolidated. A person at this stage of ego development may be compared to Maslow's Self-Actualized person (Loevinger, 1976).

For the Swensen study, these last were divided simply into two groups, the Conformist (Conformist Stage and Self-Aware Level) and the Post-Conformist (Conscientious Stage, Individualistic Level, and Autonomous Stage).

Ego Development and Marital Satisfaction

> *. . . the problems that crop up at this age are no longer to be solved by the old recipes: the hand of this clock cannot be put back. What youth found and must find outside, the man of life's afternoon must find within himself.*
>
> — C.G. Jung

What has the level of ego development to do with the decline in marriage satisfaction so direly predicted by much research Swensen reviewed while preparing for his investigation? After all, there is a decline in the number of problems, which peak during the children's teen years. Some problems eventually take care of themselves—older generation relatives and in-laws die, the children's departure relieves financial strain, and friends who may have been a source of unpleasantness have moved, died, or "lost touch." According to interview replies, though, problems that matter the most in a marriage remain for most couples, in some cases even after 50 years of marriage (Swensen, et al. 1977).

Using a sample of 36 couples from the original study, Kohlhepp examined the expression of love as a function of the interaction between retirement status and level of ego development. In brief, this aspect of the larger study showed: For *conformist* subjects, the expression of love is lower for the postretirement group than for the preretirement group; for *postconformist* subjects, love expression is greater for postretirees than for preretirees; further, there is no significant difference between conformist and postconformist levels among those not yet retired, but for the postretirement group the difference is significant.

Swensen thinks that ego development measures cognitive complexity, from simple to more and more complex understanding and awareness. He says, "I think cognitively complex people are going to do what fits them and the situation. They are less and less time-and-space bound and can see beyond the moment and the situation of the moment. This means that they are going to transcend the moment and, in turn, role relationships . . . . Therefore, they will have more satisfying relationships and more mutual interaction, leading to more expression of love."

Ego development is achieved, in Swensen's view, by facing situations previously outside one's cognitive structure or experience and developing a more complex cognitive structure to deal with them. He thinks development continues to take place throughout the adult life of anyone who is coping successfully and "facing the kinds of things that come up in life."

Swensen thinks the level of ego development has little to do with the downward slide in marriage satisfaction that occurs from the time of marriage to the departure of the children. Although he hasn't examined ego development at earlier crisis points, he believes that very little difference in love expression or marriage problems would be evident at such points. "The differences would be more subtle, I think, prefiguring what comes later."

Swensen's interpretation of the study data is that "the crunch comes when the kids leave home." For the first time in many years, the couple finds an opportunity to interact with each other as people without the disruption of others and they begin to realize the changes that have taken place within themselves and each other. The husband and wife have been doing different things. Their approach toward autonomy, or postconformity, has been by different paths—each has had a job, or the husband has been so engrossed in his job that the wife has had to cope virtually alone with everything else in their lives, or there have been intrusive in-laws. In any case, renewed acquaintance for these intimate strangers may be frightening.

"It is my impression, based on interviews, our data and other research, as well as my own clinical experience, that there are several ways people can handle this," says Swensen. "The most common way, when they are upset to discover they are not where they were, is to avoid the issue. I think this is what the typical conformist level couple does, so there is continued decline. They're stuck in a rut they can't get out of and it's too disruptive to try. That's what happens in 50 to 60 percent of the cases, according to the data. Discovering they're different is emotionally distressing to them so they back off. They are afraid of what they're getting into and can't see that it will lead to anything that will make all the trouble worthwhile.

"The postconformist people, I think, face it, deal with it, and resolve it. That's where you get an increase in love expression and transcending of sex roles, the development of a relationship that uniquely fits each couple."

Of divorce, Swensen commented, "I believe the sense you get from some of these people is 'I'm getting older and don't have the kind of relationship I want. If I want it, I'd better get with it,' so they split up. I would guess that the one most likely to promote this is at the more complex level and the one more likely to hang on is more conformist." Parenthetically, no couple in the study had more than a half-level of difference in ego development—as Swensen remarked, "They'd be living in completely different worlds."

Commitment and ego development in marriage are tied closely to problems in marriage, in the Swensen view. "I think agreement would be very important at the conformist level; in fact, I think the things people conflict over is disagreement over who's supposed to do what and which one is right. At the post-conformist level, I think you'd find disagreement rather interesting, as long as you understood where you were and had a basic bond underneath.

"This brings up another point: Again and again in the research—in Eskew's study on cohort differences for instance—the thing that seems most consistently related to marriage problems is commitment . . . . Commitment is getting married and staying married because of the personal characteristics of the other person. I think there is a tendency to transcend problems when there is that bond that is basic for resolving them."

Problems and Love Expression in Marriage

Applying the statistical findings has led Clifford Swensen into further investigations, comparisons previously unmade, and illumination of new aspects of his overall, longtime concern, interpersonal relations. In the first place, assessing the expression of love and marriage problems has produced some apparent anomalies. If the finding of this study, the reduction in love expression over time, indicates that marriage worsens with age, this study *supports* those who concluded that marriage deteriorates over time. If the quality of marriage is determined by the number of problems a couple has, the data do *not* support that conclusion.

A second anomaly appears in a survey comparing marriage problems scores of pre- and postretirees with younger couples with and without children, in which the data support the belief that marriage improves with age (see table 2).

Table 2—Comparison of Marriage Problems Scores of Pre- and Postretirement Couples With Young Married Couples Who Have and Do Not Have Children (Hilmo 1975)

			Young Married Couples	
Marriage Problems Subscales	Pre-retirement	Post-retirement	With Children	Without Children
1. Problemsolving and decision making	13.5	13.0	14.3	13.3
2. Child rearing and home labor	9.4	9.0	10.0	8.0
3. Relatives and in-laws	8.2	7.6	9.1	8.1
4. Personal care and appearance	7.3	7.2	8.5	8.3
5. Money management	7.4	6.8	8.2	7.8
6. Expression of affection and outside friendships	6.8	6.6	7.9	7.3
Total	52.7	50.3	57.9	52.8

J.A. Hilmo's 1975 survey of younger married couples, combined with the Swensen-Eskew-Kohlhepp analyses, provided answers to questions about the most serious problem the subjects faced in their marriage, the effect it had on their marriage relationship, and how they had solved it, if indeed they had. Table 3 shows the most serious problem period for a large number to be in the first year or so of marriage. A decline comes in the early childbearing years and an increase during the years of childrearing; predicted decline appears when the children start to go their own way. (After many years of marriage, 21 individuals said they could remember no problems.)

Table 3—Frequency of Most Severe Problem in Marriage by Stage of Marriage and Type of Problem

	Marriage Problems						
Stage of Marriage	1 Problem solving	2 Child-rearing	3 Relatives and In-laws	4 Personal Care	5 Money Management	6 Expression of Affection	Total
I. Beginning families	15	5	28	6	29	27	110
II. Child bearing families	9	11	3	4	4	13	44
III. Preschool children	7	19	5	3	8	12	54
IV. School age children	8	19	11	6	4	13	61
V. Teenagers	5	9	2	7	4	13	40
VI. Launching center	1	8	0	2	6	6	23
VII. Empty nest	2	0	4	1	0	8	15
VIII. Retirement	4	0	0	3	0	0	7
IX. Throughout marriage	14	1	8	3	9	16	51
Totals	65	72	61	35	64	108	405

The most common serious problems for all age cohorts occurred in communication and expression of affection (low) and the second in problemsolving and decisionmaking (high). Both problem areas are a function of unsatisfactory interaction between two partners, since they happen within the couple's relationship itself. To Swensen, this suggests that some of the couples in the survey "had endured relatively unsatisfactory relationships with their spouses throughout their marriages." He continued (1977), "Those who stated that they had never been satisfied with the communication and expression of affection in their marriages, or who had always had trouble in making decisions and agreeing on goals, frequently stated that they came to accept the fact that things would never be satisfactory in their relationship with their spouses, and focused their attention on other aspects of their lives."

Functional and Dysfunctional Marriages

In a study of 70 married couples, Anthony Fiore found clear distinctions between functional and dysfunctional marriages. A pilot study, using the Love Scale to measure ideal and real relationships, was conducted earlier on 11 people seeking marital counseling and six who thought their marriages were satisfactory. The hypotheses were: There is no significant difference between functional and dysfunctional married couples in their expectation of love in marriage; functional married couples express significantly more love in their marriages than dysfunctional married couples; and, there is a far greater discrepancy between love expected and love expressed in dysfunctional than in functional marriages. The pilot results supported the researchers' predictions and the larger study was undertaken.

From his community contacts, Fiore located a control couple whom he invited to take part in the study to compare with each couple who came to the clinic for help with their marriage. Each control couple was matched exactly with a specific dysfunctioning couple on age, length of marriage, education, and occupation variables. The sample as a whole ranged from 21 to 55 years of age, from 1 to 33 years of marriage, from 9 to 20 years of education. Occupation ranged from semi-skilled labor to professional work.

In general, the findings agreed with the hypotheses. There was little difference between the two groups in expectations for expression of love in marriage. Fiore and Swensen remark that, unrealistically, the dysfunctional couples did expect more verbal expression but, more realistically, also expected more unexpressed feelings than did the functional married couples. Analysis of the variation between husbands and wives turned up additional differences, with husbands expecting more tolerance and wives more support, both moral and material, in marriage. As the authors observed, apparently husbands expect wives to put up with more and wives expect more encouragement and more material tokens of affection than they receive.

Hypothesis 2 was confirmed. Functional married couples express more affection, disclose their intimate selves more, are more tolerant of their spouses, show more encouragement and concern, do more for each other, and have fewer feelings for each other that they do not express. Gender differences are in the husbands' greater tolerance for wives and the wives' greater moral support. After confirmation of the first two hypotheses, confirmation of the third was hardly a surprise—dysfunctional couples did have greater discrepancies between the amount of love expected and the amount received.

To sum up: Dysfunctional married couples received not only less love than functional couples in marriage but less than they had expected to receive. Fiore and Swensen (1977) add: "Unhappy married couples are both deprived and disappointed in their love relationships. However, both the functional and dysfunctional married couples received less love in marriage than they had hoped . . . ."

Clifford Swensen has another dimension to add. When asked for his definition of "functional" as opposed to "troubled," he replied, "As I've defined them operationally, in a functional marriage people say they're happy and have not sought help, have significantly fewer problems, and agree on what their problems are. In a dysfunctional marriage, people say they have problems and have sought help, and the problems are much more severe. The thing that distinguishes them is that the husband and wife don't agree on what their problems are."

He adds, "In marriage counseling, I have found that the place to go to work is where the couple disagrees on what their problems are. If you go down the Marriage Problems Scale item by item, and the wife says there's no problem but the husband says there is, it's serious."

It doesn't make much difference, according to Swensen, whether both members agree on the *seriousness* of a given problem or whether their *attitudes* are in complete agreement. What matters more is whether they *think* they agree. Even more vital is *understanding*—awareness of the other's thoughts and opinions, freedom to disagree, but appreciation of the other individual and that individual's views. And that comes back to commitment.

The Effects of Retirement

Retirement means change, change in patterns of living, in habits necessitated by routine, possibly in one's role in society. It means time for activities one likes and for new ones yet untried. As the Swensen investigation points out, it means more time, too, to become reacquainted with the intimate stranger one has been living with, without the intrusion of other people and, usually, without having to worry about making a living. Sexual expression at this time is simply an expression of feeling for each other, and any activity can be pursued "just for the fun of it."

Swensen has observed that most people as they get older are more likely to "do their own thing," regardless of how it looks to others. Of this idiosyncratic pattern, he remarked, "The older they get, the more diversity there is in all aspects of life and the more likely they are to live life however they feel like living it."

Cohort Differences

"Whatever is going on at the time you marry has a longterm effect on what happens to your marriage. There's going to be an effect you can see 40 years later." So said Clifford Swensen when reflecting on the kinds of problems the couples in his study had discussed.

The postretirees, most of them married during the Depression, spoke over and over of the financial problems of their early married years. Many had lost jobs or worked only part-time. Many had postponed marriage and children. Many had been compelled to live with relatives, putting additional strain on their getting-acquainted years and often producing in-law problems. They do not report the lower income of retirement as a particular problem. They do seem to be more conscious than younger members in the survey of problems that can arise in interactions with people outside the nuclear circle, and they are less willing to live with their own children.

The younger group, the preretirees typically married during World War II, were confronted with personal rather than material or instrumental problems in their early married years. In many cases separated early and greatly changed by their individual experiences while apart, the couples found that their problems with becoming reacquainted stressed the interpersonal facets of their lives. Presumably, these couples who are still married have already argued out and resolved or, anyway, learned to live with their marital differences. Their expression of love is at a relatively high level, indicating good interaction and communication with each other.

Possibly the greater expression of love in the preretired members of the sample, compared to that of postretirees, shows the decline in that aspect of marriage as the years go by. Swensen sees something else in a comparison of cohorts (Swensen, et al. 1977): ". . . the kinds of problems our subjects discussed suggest that the impact of the early years of marriage upon a couple's subsequent orientation toward marriage is substantial, and is a subject deserving of further study."

Mobility in Retirement

Another proof that not all retired people are the same comes from a comparison between 61 couples who had retired to Florida and the other retirees in the sample. Results from the study indicate that those who went to Florida have relatively weak attachments to spouses and families. In fact, one of those interviewed commented (Swensen, et al. 1977) that "'most of the couples down here seem to be composed of sociable women and crotchety old men.' Perhaps our data indicate that Florida is a refuge for crotchety old, 'hobbyist' men who move to Florida to enjoy their pursuits free of the pressures of family and children, and who drag their more sociable wives with them."

Swensen thinks that their responses suggest that these couples are "not primarily people-centered, or at least one from the pair is not . . . . They're not too interested in social relationships. They tend to be more asocial and are not too involved; in fact they probably wouldn't have left their communities otherwise." So far as Dr. Swensen is concerned, the most significant finding from this subsample is that the expression of love is lower among those who moved than it is among those who stayed behind.

THE "PENSIONISTS" OF BERGEN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

> *Nora: We have been married now eight years. Does it not occur to you that this is the first time we two, you and I, husband and wife, have had a serious conversation?*
>
> —Henrik Ibsen, *A Doll's House*, Act III.

In a paper entitled "Utvikling av forkold blant eldre ektepar," Dr. Clifford Swensen reported to the Norwegian Gerontological Society the results of his survey of 80 older married people of Bergen, Norway. The study, a parallel of the Purdue-centered one, was funded by the Norwegian Research Council, and the report was published in *Fokus På Familien* in 1977.

His Norwegian descent and frequent professional contacts with Norwegian scholars prepared the Swensens for enjoyable and worthwhile experiences in Norway. This latest connection began when he and a Norwegian psychologist collected data on the relationship of American junior high school students to their parents and teachers and its correlation with their school achievement. Swensen's measures used in that survey were translated into Norwegian and the two men conducted a similar survey there. Consulting work in Bergen during that visit and the subsequent interest of Norwegian colleagues in the U.S. study of older marrieds led Swensen to submit a grant proposal for similar research in the new program in Gerontological Psychology. The work began in 1975 and proved to be a happy arrangement on both sides; further, it has stimulated research in clinical psychology at the University of Bergen and led to a growing cooperative effort, including the start of a new Pediatric Psychology research program in which a Purdue colleague of Swensen's is going to assist.

The Norwegian sample was found through the Folkeregister, a thorough compilation of births, marriages, moves into and out of town, and deaths. As Swensen remarks, "In the States, one must go here and there searching for records. There, just tell them you want everybody over 60, or all married men a certain age, and, eventually, they'll send a computer printout with names, addresses, phone numbers, their wives, and so on."

That sample and those of the United States produced very similar results. The expression of love in marriage declined especially in verbal communication—the longer the marriage the less inclination of spouses to talk about feelings of love for each other or intimate facts about themselves. They showed less interest not only in what each other was feeling but in what each other was doing, and they gave each other less moral encouragement. Their inner feeling for each other, though unexpressed, did not decline, however, nor did the material goods provided and things each did for the other.

The difference between the samples from the two nations was in the *amount* of love expression. This was lower for the Norwegian sample, lower even than for the Florida retirees. Dr. Swensen found, further, that the score for Scale 5 of the Love Scale, *un*expressed feelings, was also lower. He wrote (1978b) that this indicates that "such feelings as they had for each other they did tend to express, so that the lack of expression of love would appear to be not due to a reticence to express themselves, but rather due to a relative lack of feeling for each other."

The Norwegian sample is small and confined to Bergen. Some of Swensen's friends have suggested that Bergenians are "more reserved and less interpersonally expressive" than other Norwegians. Swensen does not believe, however, that the addition of Norwegians from other areas would change the statistics *vis-a-vis* the U.S. sample of retirees. Certainly it would not change the observation (Swensen 1978b) that, even though both groups are experiencing fewer problems since retirement "the sum adds up to a rather devitalized relationship—one to which the words stagnation and resignation might well be applied."

The Greatest Common Problems

Tables 4A and 4B show the reactions of these Norwegian "pensionists" to various problem areas. Areas of concern as a

Table 4—Biggest Present Problem mentioned by Pensionists

	A. For Length of Time Pensioned				Total		B. For Level of Ego Development	
Biggest Problem	0-6 months	6-12 months	1-2 years	2+ years	N*	%*	Conformist	Post-Conformist
None	50%	25%	30%	25%	22	37	43%	15%
Health	18	25	20	45	13	22	15	55
Worry about death	9	25	10	25	8	13	15	15
Job, Activity with Meaning	14	0	10	5	6	10	11	0
Money	9	0	20	5	7	12	11	0
Marriage, Family	18	25	20	20	11	18	20	15

*N=60 %=100%. Higher in both cases because 7 persons mentioned more than one problem.

function of the length of time since retirement appear in Table 4A and as a function of ego development in 4B. This graphic illustration should not be surprising—that the longer the retirement the greater the concern about health and death. Swensen believes the increase in anxiety may be due to the illness of one of the spouses.

When counseling older couples in Indiana and Florida, Swensen says he has been struck by "the extent to which sickness in one spouse seemed to have a devastating effect on their relationship." They have no idea of how to handle evidences of senility in the spouse, for instance, or a role reversal, as in the case of a dominant husband being physically cared for and psychically supported by a previously dependent wife. There is "either denial—it just doesn't exist—or a sort of collapse. 'I'll have to give in and be supported for the rest of my life.'"

In view of the separateness of some of these husbands and wives from each other and their low levels of expressed feelings . . . their concern about loneliness . . . seems a sad irony.

Swensen's comments about the aging Bergenians in "Marriage Relationship and Problems of Retired Married Couples," then, are applicable for all. "It is a reality that becomes more pressing as age increases. The worry about death is not so much a concern about one's own death as it is . . . for what will happen after one's spouse dies, or concern with what will happen to the spouse after one's own death. The concern about death is a concern about loneliness" of oneself or one's spouse (1978b). In view of the separateness of some of these husbands and wives from each other and their low level of expressed feelings and personal revelation, their concern about loneliness after the death of either seems a sad irony.

Tables 5A & B, which show the respondents' feelings about the best years of their lives seem somehow to refute the irony. The two previous tables had indicated that the two groups most concerned with health and death, those who have been retired for two or more years and those at the post-conformist level, both report that the postretirement years are the best years of their married lives. In other words, Tables 5A & B say that those most likely to be aware of their eventual problems are most satisfied with and happiest in their current married life.

Table 5—Pensionists' Judgment of Best Years of Marriage

	A. For Length of Time Pensioned				Total		B. For Level of Ego Development	
Best Period	0-6 months	6-12 months	1-2 years	2+ years	N*	%*	Con-formist	Post-Con-formist
Since pensioned	0%	50%	20%	70%	20	30	31%	39%
Since the war	41	0	30	10	14	23	22	23
When young	14	0	20	5	5	8	7	15
First and last years	9	13	0	0	3	5	9	0
When children young	0	0	20	5	3	5	9	0
Since children left	5	13	0	0	2	3	2	8
All the same	27	13	20	10	11	18	20	15

In review, Clifford Swensen conjectures that the couples' awareness of approaching sickness and death heightens their appreciation of the joys and pleasures of their present life with each other, motivating them to make the most of time. This corroborates observations from the surveys made in the States. As Swensen commented, "In general, these people say the last years are the best. I remember one Baltimore couple who had been married forty-some years and, as a matter of fact, had moved around some—no kids—who said they never realized two people could be as close together as they had become since retirement. I think that's a general result, regardless of what the Problems Scores and the Love Scale Scores report."

SUMMARY: PAST AND FUTURE

> *There is only one solution if old age is not to be an absurd parody of our former life, and that is to go on pursuing ends that give our existence meaning—devotion to individuals, to groups or to causes, social, political, intellectual or creative work. In spite of the moralists' opinion to the contrary, in old age we should wish still to have passions strong enough to prevent us turning in upon ourselves.*
>
> —Simone de Beauvoir

This series of studies on the quality of marriage over time shows that the inevitable ingredient is change—not only the change evidenced in bifocals, or loss of skin and muscle tone, or slower gait. Far more subtle, it is in the steady decline of the expression of love between husband and wife. Change appears, too, in the increase in the number of problems faced by most couples as their children enter the teen years and the decrease as the nest empties.

Unhappily, the change in the kind of problems encountered by husband and wife is superficial to the fabric of the marriage. Change which shows up statistically comes more often in situations that are peripheral to the real relatedness of the couple. Parents and in-laws die, children leave home, friends and acquaintances drift away if continued association is not desired. *Real* problems—setting goals, making decisions, and solving problems—often change very little.

The older couples in the primary research sample of 224 couples are all in "functional" marriages. They have not sought counseling or other help for their marriages and can reasonably be termed "happy." Decline in marriage satisfaction, then, seems nonspecific, abstract but real nonetheless, a diminution in the exchange of a mutually animated energy. Satisfactions in these marriages came largely from extensive interaction with relatives and children, friends and groups. Still, for the typical couple, there is the unmet need for intimacy.

This typically marks the marriages of couples in the conformist level of ego development, the mean level in the American adult population. These are the people who touch upon each other's lives in stereotyped ways, the couples for whom the *rules* for living and loving as they understand those rules control their husband-wife interactions. Postconformist couples see and appreciate the individuality of themselves and others. They are aware of their own feelings, needs, and wishes, and of those of others. They go beyond the roles expected of them, especially marital roles, and they encourage similar growth in others.

This research indicates that ego development is related to the quality of the interaction between husband and wife and, therefore, that the kind of relationship growing out of their union is a function of the level of ego development of each of them, at the beginning and throughout the marriage. It follows, then, that a couple's development beyond the conformist level and the capacity of each to outstretch stereotypic patterns and habits can lead them to evolve a vitality in their living together that will more nearly satisfy their needs for total intimacy, psychological and physical.

The amount of love expression in the marriages in these studies, compared to those in related studies such as that of Fiore and Swensen, is well above the amount of love expression in troubled marriages but well below the amount wished for in marriage. In Swensen's words (1978a): ". . . the level of intimacy, as measured by the expression of love, is less than is typically expected in our culture, even in the groups with the greatest amount of love expression. This suggests that for all of the groups in the study there is, to some degree, an unmet need and desire for the expression of love."

Further Studies

Concerning what comes next, Clifford Swensen comments that he would like to explore longitudinally the measurement of love expression and problems and the function of different situations in building up a picture of the marriage relationship. "Essentially, I want to do two things: Look at the terminating stages of marriage from retirement on out—there are no data on that—and how people cope with inevitable sickness and death of a spouse and which kinds of pre-situations and preways of coping seem to work best. There are no data, either, on how the relationship between adult children and their parents affects the children's and the parents' marriages. Some years ago, of course, this was not a problem.

"I want also to look at some of the alternative forms of marriage (that is, sharing, or even group marriages) to see how they fit into this larger picture and how they relate to the more standard forms of marriage. I suppose, theoretically, one could even see how longterm homosexual relationships fit in, also."

Dr. Swensen is enthusiastic about the longitudinal study he and some Purdue colleagues are beginning. Part of the sample subjects are in a home in which the residents range from totally competent to utterly dependent on nursing care. Some subjects are intact couples, some widowed, and in some one spouse is ill. The study will begin with a pilot and will involve extended group work, to learn the coping patterns of each age and life situation.

The largest sample will come from the Purdue Retirement Program and will contain "everything from carpenters to nuclear physicists, the whole thing, grasscutters, roofers, policemen, firemen. It's really a community with everything in it. Since the retirement program begins at age 55, three cohorts, preretired, short-term retired, and long-term retired, will be available.

"They're living all around in Tippecanoe County, and we can compare them with those in the retirement facility," Swensen continued. "We'd like to follow these people for the rest of their lives (or the rest of our lives, whichever comes first). Data will be kept by our Social Science Institute, so it can go on and on. There will be continuity. Both sociologists and psychologists will be involved in this study and the findings will be useful in many areas of work with the aging."

The study, "Reaction to Normal Life Change in an Older Population," will involve scholars from the departments of physical education and recreation and of audiology and speech sciences as well as of psychology and sociology. The changes to be studied include retirement, residence, hearing and speech, and health; in other words, the changes to be assessed are those occurring in physical and emotional health, personal relationships, communications patterns, and in the ways these elderly people cope with changes. As part of the investigation, the subjects will be interviewed, answer questionnaires and personality scales, and undergo standard speech and hearing assessment procedures.

The benefits of this kind of multidisciplinary study are great. There will accrue a large body of data which can be used for additional studies on all aspects of aging at Purdue and, in a ripple effect, wherever there is concern for this large and growing segment of the population. As one example, the study hopes to provide information about the effect of avocational and physical activities on the physical and emotional problems of aging. To cite another, the study should provide a measure of the effect of hearing loss on speech patterns and on the marriage relationship of the subjects. Dr. Swensen, particularly, will be concerned with the results of the intermeshing of the personality characteristics of these elderly people and the social, physical, and retirement problems they must handle.

Making the Last the Best

To some extent, some improvement in the relation of husbands and wives to each other through higher ego development, leading in turn to their greater commitment to each other as unique and special, may come about unaided—in another generation or two. This might be conjectured, at least, since the level of ego development nearly always rises with the level of education.

Apparently, though, judging from the Swensen-Eskew-Kohlhepp study, even those couples who are at the postconformist level are wistful about the inconsonance of dreams and reality. Clifford Swensen suggests that a new form of marriage counseling may become necessary to help couples work toward a solution of the long-standing problems which many accept "as the unfortunate price they must pay for the continuation of the relationship." Swensen conjectures that many couples would be unwilling to invest the effort or endure the emotional pain. He believes, though, that useful methods for working on these problems could and should be developed. He wrote (1978b):

> There are two intractable facts about the life and marriage situation of retired married people. The first is that they have the time and the opportunity to explore the joys and complexities of an intimate relationship

with each other. The second is that their time is limited. Within a relatively short period of time one, or both, of them will become ill and die, and their relationship will come to an end. When these parameters are viewed from the point of view of psychology, it becomes clear that we have not concerned ourselves with the terminating stages of marriage. We have not been concerned with developing methods for helping retired couples to enjoy to the fullest the short time they have left to them, nor have we been concerned with developing ways of helping husbands and wives to cope with the very serious emotional problems that come with the serious illness and death of a spouse, an event which disrupts and then terminates the most significant relationship in a person's life. The development of an understanding of what happens in this relationship in its terminating stages, and during the stresses and disruptions that attend that process of termination, has significance not just for those who are old now, but for all married couples eventually, and for all human beings, to the extent that it tells us more about the nature of human existence in its entirety.

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Part III. Parents and Children

PARENTS AS LEADERS: THE ROLE OF CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE

Principal Investigator: Diana Baumrind, Ph.D.

*Author: Herbert Yahraes**

For almost two decades, research psychologist Diana Baumrind, of the University of California, Berkeley, has been conducting a major investigation into how various types of parental control affect children's behavior.

In her first study, Baumrind was concerned with three small groups of normal preschool children and their parents. Her findings can be summarized as follows:

- The most assertive, self-reliant, and self-controlled children had parents who were "controlling, demanding, communicative, and loving." Rather than ridiculing or frightening the child, or withdrawing their affection, these parents were ready to use corporal punishment. Generally, though, instead of punishing a child for behaving badly, they rewarded him for behaving well.
- The children who were discontented, withdrawn, and distrustful had parents who were relatively controlling but also detached.
- The children who had little self-control or self-reliance and who tended to retreat from new experiences had parents who were relatively warm but also noncontrolling and nondemanding.

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*See note at end of chapter.

In the second project, Baumrind, assisted by Allen E. Black, studied 95 preschoolers attending the University's Child Study Center and their parents. The findings suggest that "parental practices which are intellectually stimulating and to some extent tension-producing"—such as punitiveness, firm discipline, and expecting well of the child—"are associated in the young child with various aspects of competence. Techniques which fostered self-reliance—whether by placing demands upon the child for self-control and high-level performance or by encouraging independent action and decisionmaking—facilitated responsible, independent behavior. Firm discipline in the home did not produce conforming or dependent behavior in the nursery school." Moreover, the willingness of parents "to offer justification for their directives and to listen to the child when directing him were associated with indices of independence and social responsibility . . . . Parental restrictiveness and refusal to grant sufficient independence were by contrast associated (particularly in boys) with dependent and passive behavior."

The findings of these two studies are thus in general agreement: In association with other factors, firm parental discipline makes for competent children.

FOLLOWING CHILDREN THROUGH TIME

Baumrind's third project is a longitudinal study that got under way in 1967 and is still in progress. Its subjects are 134 white and 16 black children, originally enrolled in 13 nursery schools, and their well-educated middle-class families. The children's behavior has been observed both in school and, along with their parents', at home. In this phase of the research, Baumrind is particularly interested in learning the effects of different kinds of parental discipline upon a bundle of characteristics known as "instrumental competence." This embraces such qualities as social responsibility, independence, orientation to succeed, and vigor. She defines these as follows:

> "Social responsibility" is behavior that is friendly rather than hostile to peers, facilitative rather than disruptive of others' work, and cooperative rather than resistive of adult-led activity. By late childhood, the qualities of objectivity and self-control are important correlates of social responsibility. "Independence" is behavior that is . . . goal-directed rather than aimless,

and self-determined rather than conforming. "Achievement orientation" is behavior in which the child seeks rather than avoids intellectual challenge and solves problems persistently and efficiently rather than inefficiently and impulsively. "Vigor" refers to the child's appearance of vitality and energy level.

This investigation has found three main types of parents, each of which has a different effect upon preschool—and also, presumably, older—children:

Authoritarian. This type "values obedience as a virtue and believes in restricting the child's autonomy . . . values the preservation of order and traditional structure as an end in itself. He or she does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept the parent's word for what is right."

Authoritative. This kind "attempts to direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner." Such parents value not only disciplined conformity on the part of the child but also the expression of self-will. "The child is directed firmly, consistently, and rationally; issues rather than personalities are focused upon; parent uses power when necessary; parent values obedience to adult requirements, as well as independence in the child; parent sets standards and enforces them firmly but does not regard self as infallible; parent listens to child but does not base decisions solely on child's desires." To achieve objectives, such parents use reason, power, and reinforcement, meaning rewards for acceptable behavior.

Permissive. Such a parent "behaves in an affirmative, acceptant, and benign manner toward the child's impulses and actions" and aims "to give the child as much freedom as is consistent with the child's physical survival. Freedom to the permissive parent means absence of restraint."

In this research, the kind of parental control called "authoritative" is associated with "responsible, assertive, and self-reliant behavior in preschool children" and comes out best.

In contrast, authoritarian control covers many areas of the child's life "with extensive proscriptions and prescriptions" and places "arbitrary limits upon his autonomous striving to try out new skills and make decisions for himself." Such restrictiveness may well induce fear and undue submissiveness.

Permissive parents, as well as those designated authoritarian, differed significantly from authoritative parents because they "lacked confidence in their childrearing practices, did not enrich their children's environment, and, for boys, did not have a clearly defined childrearing policy." Both types of parents "lacked balance between what was offered to the child in the way of support and what was demanded of him in terms of obedience." The permissive parents offered too much and demanded too little; the authoritarians demanded too much and offered too little. Permissive parents often say they want their children to be independent, but this research found that permissiveness was *not* associated with independence.

What does it take to be an authoritative parent?

For one thing, Baumrind finds, he or she must *not* be restrictive and suppressive. "An authority is a person whose expertise befits him to tell another what to do when the behavioral alternatives are known to both. In order to be an authority, the parent must be *expert.* Many parents and teachers have come to the conclusion that they are not expert about matters pertaining to the young people placed in their charge. Instead of aspiring to become more expert, they abandon their roles as authorities." But there is hope, because "much of what a parent needs to know can be learned from observing and listening to the child." By so doing, the parent "may acquire the information needed about the child and the child's peer group." Unlike the authoritarian parent, the authoritative parent modifies his or her role in response to the child's coaching, responding to suggestions and complaints from the child, and then transmitting these modified norms to the child.

Baumrind explains:

> By becoming more expert, the parent thereby legitimates his or her authority. In order to be authoritative, the parent must be willing and able to behave *rationally.* The parent does not have to explain his or her actions to the child all the time, especially when the child obviously understands the reason but is engaging in harassment. But a parent does need to be sure that the basis for parental demands is just and that the child knows, as much as he or she is capable of understanding, the reasons behind these demands. In order to be authoritative, the investigator continues, the parent must value *self-assertion, willfulness,* and

> *independence* in the child. The aim should be to prepare the child to become independent of parental control. Methods of discipline, while firm, must therefore be respectful of the child's actual abilities and capacities. As these increase, the parent must share his or her responsibilities and prerogatives with the child and expect more in the way of competence, achievement, and independent action.

Authoritative parents, Baumrind also reports, "tended to believe that they should be receptive to, and aware of, the child's needs and views before making any attempt to alter the child's actions and to see the child as maturing through stages with qualitatively different features." Such parents also "tended to refer to the norm of reciprocity in Judeo-Christian terms, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'"

THE FIRST FOLLOWUP

When the children were between 8 and 9 years old, 96 of them and their parents were again intensively studied through observation, interviews, and tests. Among the material analyzed were video tapes of family discussions of stories containing moral dilemmas.

At the time of the followup, the children of authoritative parents were still clearly the most competent. The authoritative mothers of girls got high marks for respecting their daughters' reasoning ability, training them in cognitive matters, and having self-confidence as a parent. The authoritative mothers of boys tended to direct their sons' lives but to delegate responsibility to them in household matters such as keeping up their rooms. The fathers of boys enforced orders but clearly held in mind their sons' individuality. The fathers of girls, like the mothers, tended to train them cognitively.

In general, the preliminary findings show, the *girls* who were competent and had a sense of "personal agency"—that is, thought that what they did mattered—came from families having "a childrearing pattern of firm control and somewhat stressful, abrasive interactions, particularly with their fathers." Analysis of the family interaction video tapes showed, however, that parental demands in these cases did not have a repressive effect. It showed also that the girls felt free to resist paternal direction and to "engage in playful role-reversal with their fathers," meaning that the girls in a bantering manner would sometimes tell their fathers what to do, instead of the other way around.

The case of the competent, believing-in-themselves *boys* was somewhat different. The video tapes showed that the fathers of such boys were relatively nondirective. However, this characteristic was "intimately associated with high expectations and implicit demandingness." In other words, "fathers of the most competent boys were *appropriately* nondirective in that their sons could be depended upon to act properly without direction." As one example, these boys were significantly more likely than other boys to talk and act competently during the family discussion. Baumrind reports that this same finding holds for the most competent girls, but that "for girls competency is actively elicited as part of the pattern of paternal directiveness," while for boys no elicitation was needed.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DISCIPLINE

During the first 6 years of life, Baumrind holds, "the imposition of authority even against the child's will is useful to the child . . . . Indeed, power serves to legitimate authority in the mind of the child, to assure the child that his parent has the power to protect him and provide for his needs . . . . What makes a parent a successful reinforcing agent, and/or an attractive model for a child to imitate, is his or her effective power to give the child what is needed. . . ."

During adolescence, "the contrasting views of authority viewed as justified versus authority viewed as illegitimate become particularly apparent." Baumrind cites a number of findings in support:

- A survey of Swedish adolescents found that teenagers accepted authority based on rational concern for their welfare but rejected authority based on the adult's desire to dominate or exploit the child.
- In another study, parental discipline viewed by the child as either very restrictive or very permissive was associated "with lack of closeness between parent and child and with rebellion against the parent's political viewpoints."

- Junior and senior high school students in a third study "were more likely to model themselves after their parents and to associate with peers their parents approved of if their parents used reason to explain decisions and demands."
- Still another investigation found "that maladjusted and aggressive high school boys described their parents as unloving" and that "boys who described their parents as both loving and controlling identified with their parents in both these characteristics."

Other research viewed by Baumrind indicates that where both parents abstain from alcohol for religious reasons, children are more likely to refrain from drinking when they go to college; children whose parents do not smoke are more likely not to smoke; "adolescent drug use was least prevalent among traditional families who both disciplined their children and spent much time with them and for whom religion played an ongoing part . . . ."

The parents in Baumrind's studies frequently used some form of punishment—often corporal—to achieve compliance. In the longitudinal study, corporal punishment was used in all but two of the families. Permissive parents in that study admitted "to explosive attacks of rage in which they inflicted more pain or injury upon the child than they had intended."

Punishment is most effective when given as closely as possible to the undesirable behavior . . . .

The evidence from these studies, Baumrind reports, does not indicate that corporal punishment in itself was harmful or ineffective "but rather that the total pattern of parent control determined the effects on the child" of such punishment. She reports also that authoritative parents, "who were particularly effective, favored corporal punishment over other negative sanctions."

By "corporal punishment," Baumrind means nonbrutal physical punishment delivered in response to behavior the child knows is not acceptable. It is different from brutal and arbitrary physical punishment, which many studies have shown to be associated with undesirable behavior. For example, such punishment has been linked to antisocial aggression and also to passivity, dependence, and social withdrawal. However, Baumrind continues, there is considerable evidence "that the use of punishment and coercion by parents is associated reliably with antisocial and nonachievement-oriented behavior in children when the parent is also repressive, hostile, and restrictive, but not reliably when he is not." In fact, according to this investigator:

> It is reasonable to postulate that nonbrutal punishment, including physical expressions, by a loved and respected parent, if *consistently contingent upon the child's behavior*, should have, in addition to its effectiveness as a means of behavior control, side effects which are also beneficial, such as the following: (1) more rapid re-establishment of affectional involvement between participants following emotional release; (2) high resistance to similar deviation by siblings who vicariously experience punishment; (3) lessened guilt reactions to transgression since the parent inflicts an unpleasant consequence; (4) increased ability of the child to endure punishment in the service of a desired end if he should decide to persist; (5) willingness by the child to openly confront another within a power relationship rather than to deny or disguise anger, brought about by emulation of the aggressive parent; (6) increased feeling of internal control within defined limits since reinforcement is made consistently contingent upon the child's own action; (7) reduced dependency upon the parent as a source of gratification since the parent, by punishing the child, arouses ambivalent feelings toward himself.

From a review of research on punishment, Baumrind cites these findings: Punishment is most effective when given as closely as possible to the undesirable behavior, when it is consistent and cannot be escaped, and when it is accompanied by an explanation that specifies both the unacceptable behavior and a more desirable one. Also, parents should not use punishment "to eliminate behavior which the child is highly motivated to perform without offering alternative forms of behavior by which the drive can be redirected."

Temperament as well as upbringing plays an important role in what happens to a child. The ways in which these two factors interact to affect the development of social responsibility, independence, and originality, Baumrind points out, are not yet well understood. However, "we do know that children of different temperaments may be affected dissimilarly by like childrearing practices. For example, in order that by adolescence each may possess adequate self-confidence and social competence, a boy that is timid and fearful from birth will require more patient, gentle handling and more encouragement for his tentative movements toward independence than his sister, bold and energetic from infancy."

In sum, a child is more likely to develop a sense of competence, responsibility, and independence if he or she is given firm and reasonable guidelines. Most important, keep listening and take into consideration what your child has to tell you.

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WORKING COUPLES AS PARENTS

Principal Investigator: Laura Lein, Ph.D.

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Parenthood is almost never an uncomplicated undertaking even in those increasingly rare traditional families where husband and wife have agreed to devote themselves single-mindedly to the respective roles of breadwinner and emotional nurturer of children. The emergent phenomenon of the working mother compounds the job of raising young children by placing demands on parents to assume new responsibilities and new roles for which no well-defined models exist. Popular literature suggests that a mother's resumption of outside work can be fraught with peril for the family; but her working and the resulting pressures toward change in family structure and functioning may also lead to creative and adaptive innovations. Such is the finding of a Boston-based group of young social scientists who title themselves collectively the *Working Family Project*. Headed by NIMH grantee and social anthropologist, Dr. Laura Lein, of Wellesley College, the full Project group (including Kevin Dougherty, Maureen Durham, Gail Howrigan, Laura Lein, Michael Pratt, Michael Schudson, Ronald Thomas, and Heather Weiss) has been studying intensively a small group of 25 middle-income families in which both the husband and wife are employed outside the home and responsible for the care of children, typically of preschool age.

During a preliminary review of field research on families, the Project discovered that the group "in the middle" economically had been neglected, perhaps because the problems they faced were relatively less urgent than those of poverty-stricken families or relatively less glamorous than those of higher income families where both spouses pursued exciting and personally gratifying careers. The middling status of the families obscured the difficulties they had to contend with.

For example, because of their middle-income status, they were usually not eligible for subsidies available to poorer families for such services as formal child care. Nonetheless, most did not have so much money as to be able to pay for the convenience of live-in housekeepers, regular babysitters, or day-care centers affordable by higher income groups. They faced the pressures of having to arrange, within these income limitations, for responsible substitute care of one or more preschoolers.

Second, in the absence of many social supports reinforcing their efforts, even in the face of frank social disapproval, spouses in middle-income, dual-worker families had to try to assume new roles and to share tasks around the home. Little money was available to spend on hired help or labor-saving devices that could alleviate some of the strain on working parents. Few realistic models were available of housecleaning husbands and working wives. As it turned out, in the Boston study, although men in some of the families pitched in, and a few consciously tried to assume new domestic roles, women usually bore the major burden of household work. Standards of performance concerning the care of children and home were little lowered by working mothers, however. Rather, most evolved ever more complex schedules to accommodate increased demands in decreased time.

A third problem, although not tied to families' middle-income status, was nonetheless foremost in their minds. Parents saw as their primary responsibility the successful rearing of children, and many perceived the larger social environment to be a hostile, threatening influence that could ruin their offspring despite the parents' best efforts. For some parents, skepticism of formal child care emerged from a fear that outsiders would influence their children in undesirable directions.

The Working Family Project described the families they studied as *dual-worker families*. The term was meant not to minimize the labor contribution of full-time housewives but to distinguish the kind of families they studied from more traditionally structured, two-parent, one-worker families as well as from *dual-career* families in which the wife's position and advancement in her occupation were closely tied to cumulative training and work experience. Only some of the women in the Working Family Project's sample had intended to hold paying jobs while raising preschool children, and relatively few thought of their jobs in terms of a career.

In further contrast to dual-career families, the dual-worker families were of relatively modest means, with family incomes ranging from $6,500 to $20,000 in 1974. The criterion used to include a family in the sample was strictly income rather than occupation or some combination of occupation and income, so that a range of professions and potential professions was represented among both husbands and wives. For instance, a few of the men were students at the time but were engaged in training for lucrative careers that promised to lift their families out of their current tight financial straits into more affluent lifestyles. The majority of men, however, worked in occupations that did not lead to high-paid positions and that offered little prospect for change from middle-income status and related difficulties in making ends meet. Although virtually all the families reported themselves as aspiring to own their own homes, only about half actually did so. Of the remainder, few could predict when they might be in a position to achieve this prototypical American goal. The physical environments in which the families lived—their houses, apartments, and neighborhoods—would be judged by most observers as pleasant, but their financial situation left them with little money to spare for unforeseen contingencies. In many of the families, the financial contribution of the working wife enabled them to maintain a middle-income position.

The attitudes of the dual-worker couples toward the mother's employment outside the home were often complex and contradictory. Husbands' appreciation of their wives' contributions was often in conflict with the men's perceived diminution of their masculine role of breadwinner. Perhaps defensively, some men tended to minimize the importance of their wives' jobs to family well-being, even when it was clear to the researchers that the extra money was needed badly.

Both husbands and wives tended to espouse traditional attitudes about the proper roles of men and women in family life. Even though a wife was working full time, she was usually still seen as "helping out" her husband in his primary role as breadwinner. In most instances, a woman's primary role was considered to be that of wife and mother, and the major responsibility for arranging child care and housework still fell to her.

Despite the apparent traditionalism of the families, more subtle secondary motives for a woman's employment emerged. Initially most wives were reluctant to admit to working outside the home for pleasure or personal advancement, especially when their jobs took them away from young children. But such motives existed, and while they may not have been primary when employment began they came to assume importance through a natural evolutionary process. Reasons behind a woman's employment, while most frequently given in terms of economics, were often more complex.

The Working Family Project started the dual-worker study without many preconceived notions of what was to be examined about the families and without specific hypotheses to be tested. The study was viewed as a hypothesis-generating one meant to yield leads that could be followed up more intensively if they seemed worthwhile. It was through initial conversations with the participating families that areas of interest and concern came to be more clearly defined. What emerged as most important to the families were problems in and solutions to such matters as child care, division of housework between spouses, coordination of work with home life, and supports for parenthood in modern urban society.

In the past, it would not have been at all unusual to find a research team composed exclusively of individuals trained in one discipline. The resultant research effort, while it might reflect in depth a psychological or anthropological perspective, would be one-sided. The Working Family Project took another approach to social-science research: a multidisciplinary one. Each team member had a different training orientation and different interests in family life. For instance, Lein, a social anthropologist, tended to view the family as a social system enmeshed in a social network. Other members were trained in developmental psychology, clinical psychology, and sociology. Each saw the families from a slightly different perspective, and each brought this perspective to bear on analyses of problems in adapting to demands of home and outside work. Each team member also exerted a corrective influence on the others so as to ensure that no one aspect of the lives of dual-worker families was emphasized at the expense of others. The research product of the team is one wider in scope than would have emerged from a unidisciplinary effort.

The way information was gathered by the Working Family Project can be distinguished from other methods. The 25 Boston families were studied intensively over a relatively short period of time; some of them were also studied longitudinally. Such an approach to gaining information about attitudes and problems can be contrasted to large-scale survey techniques. In the latter, a substantial number of respondents are polled on attitudes or behaviors usually only once. The generality of findings and their accuracy in reflecting attitudes is thought to be ensured by careful sampling and item selection.

By comparison, the small-scale-intensive method does not yield a basis for ready generalization. Findings must be characterized carefully, particularly in terms of the specific group studied. But the small-scale technique, especially if it is intensive, can surpass the survey technique in the credibility one can place in findings.

Respondents to questionnaires may or may not be reporting accurately on their circumstances. Ambivalent feelings may be suppressed in favor of more one-sided and uncomplicated attitudes. In matters requiring verbal reports, different parties in an emotionally keyed interaction may have different impressions of the same "objective" situation.

In this vein, the Working Family Project noted that initial interviews with family members often led to an impression that was modified after greater rapport had been established and after initially hidden conflicts and disagreements had emerged. For instance, husbands reported somewhat differently on their contribution to the running of the household than did their wives. Both spouses underestimated the other's contribution in what was for many an issue of overt conflict. This discrepancy was often discovered only after a series of interviews had taken place.

In general, the tendency to put on a good face is well noted in social-science research. Even on questionnaires that are anonymous, the social desirability of answers to questions can bias responses. Even in face-to-face interviews, threads of consistency in personal reports of attitudes and behavior on emotionally charged topics can usually be established only after rapport has grown between the observer and the observed.

Because the sort of information that emerges from them has great validity, intensive studies can be viewed as complementary to large-scale survey techniques. Intensive studies can yield hunches that can be subject to further verification in studies that employ larger samples. In the specific case of the dual-worker study, the ability to generalize about a large group of urban families was subordinated to a search for uniqueness. The research group was seeking out the creative, innovative ways in which people dealt with the pressures of family life. The 25 families seen were alike in three ways: all had children (usually preschoolers), all the wives worked, and all were middle income. In other ways they were different. The staff deliberately sought to include examples of people who had confronted unusual situations and had evolved unusual solutions to them. In many ways however, the Working Family Project does not think that the 25 families they saw are much different from most urban middle-income, dual-worker groups, either in the difficulties they encountered or in the range of solutions they formulated. But it is possible that only certain kinds of families will permit researchers to study them. It is clear that findings from such a study should be tested on a broader basis.

The families were both interviewed and observed as they went about their daily lives. Husband and wife were interviewed twice apart and once together. Family life was observed at least three times: once when the wife was alone with her children, once when the husband was alone with them, and once when both parents and the children were together. Spouses were asked to describe their childhood backgrounds, aspirations in work and family life, the stresses they were experiencing, and their attitudes toward their lives. Sometimes the method of questioning was structured; other times it was open-ended. The resulting data, while impressionistic and not amenable to most statistical tests, are extremely credible because of the repeated verification to which they were subject.

Lein notes some difficulties in conducting intensive research. By its very nature, it is intrusive. The people agreeing to cooperate have essentially opened their personal lives to outside scrutiny for a considerable period of time. Working families in particular are under a kind of added stress in that they must give of a very limited resource—hours of leisure time—in order to fulfill research goals. Of families approached, 40 percent agreed to participate; 60 percent refused. Such a high refusal rate is the rule in intensive research in urban areas of the United States. Lein suspects that refusals in the study may have come disproportionately from families in which conflict over the wife's working was most marked and in which the husband, particularly, objected strongly to the airing of these difficulties to outsiders. The sample was gathered in two waves. The first 14 families were contacted in 1973 under the grant auspices of the National Institute of Education (NIE). This group served as a type of pilot for further work. Areas of concentration were narrowed down, given money and time limitations, and the focus was sharpened. The additional 11 families were gathered under NIMH grant auspices to make a total sample of 25. Papers were written by staff members at regular intervals in the course of data collection and were subject to revision or expansion in light of further investigation. For instance, a paper based on the first 14 families dealt with the division of household labor between husband and wife, and the findings held for the 25. Further analyses of the 25, however, also yielded new aspects of labor splits that were reported on in other contexts. Rich in anecdotes which portray the families vividly and enable the reader to empathize with them readily, each paper can stand alone, yet every aspect of family life is in reality integrated with every other one.

In partial return for their participation, the Working Family Project shared their findings with the families. Both spouses were given papers to read and react to. In many instances, they improved the quality of research by providing alternative interpretations or even by pointing out methodological weaknesses. Hence, their perusal of preliminary manuscripts exerted a very useful corrective influence on the product.

To provide the reader with a more personalized view of the families, table 1 presents some characteristics of the original 14. It can be seen that, with the exception of Mr. Parks and

Mr. Sandle, who were full-time students, all the husbands were working full time. The number of hours wives worked varied from 15 to 40 a week. Most of the men had been at their present jobs for some time. The couples ranged in age from their 20s to their 40s, and all but 3 in the sample of 25 had at least 1 preschool child.

Table 1—Some Characteristics Of The First 14 Families

Families	*Husband's Occupation*	*Hrs/Wk*	*Wife's Occupation*	*Hrs/Wk*	*No. of Children*
Deneux	Business manager	40	Typist	35	2
Farlane	Salesman	35	Nurse	24	5
Henry	Maintenance	40	Factory	35	2
Hunt	Business manager	40	Keypunch	25	2
Jackson	Factory	40	Nurse	24	4
Long	Factory	40	Keypunch	15	2
Nelson	Teacher/ salesman	65	Nurse	15	9
Parks	Student	30	Administration	15	1
Raymond	Business manager	55	Saleswoman	20	4
Samuels	Armed forces	40	Day care	25	2
Sandle	Student	40	Nurse	40	1
Sedman	Maintenance work	40	Keypunch	25	2
Tilman	Draftsman	40	Administration	40	1
Wyatt	Policeman/ construction	55	Secretary	40	2

Arranging for Child Care

Once the decision had been made for a mother to work, the first and most pressing practical problem facing couples was the management of satisfactory child care during periods in which the parents were outside the home. Parents resorted to a variety of care arrangements, partly because day care of good quality was costly (around $40 a week in 1974) and difficult to find and partly because the parents differed in what they considered desirable for their children. In each family, the decision to have an outsider take care of a child was an important issue.

Parents were willing to make tremendous sacrifices in order to ensure that their children enjoyed the best possible care that they could provide.

Various alternatives were represented among the families: care of children by each spouse in turn while the other was at work, care by hired babysitters, informal child-care arrangements with neighbors, assistance from relatives if they were nearby, and formal day care or nursery programs. Often, more than one type of care was used. The complexity to be encountered in scheduling child care was frequently remarkable.

In the face of severe limitations on amount of money available, the solutions some families arrived at were ingenious. Although monetary considerations were important in the minds of the couples, their solutions also reflected a deep concern for the quality of the children's family life and their life away from home. Parents were willing to make tremendous sacrifices in order to ensure that their children enjoyed the best possible care that they could provide.

An adage of sociologists is that "attitudes follow behavior," or that people first of all act and then rationalize actions verbally. To a great extent, this situation held in the Boston sample. The demands of the parents' jobs determined and limited child-care options, but the converse was also true. That is, concern for children determined the parents' work schedules as well. The fears that some parents voiced about their inability to retain sufficient control over their children's environment influenced the type of care that they considered acceptable.

Anxieties became especially obvious when parents were queried about outside-the-home child care.

When the Working Family Project was first starting out in their efforts to collect a sample, they went to Boston-area day-care centers on the assumption that working parents would be most likely to use this type of care as a solution of choice. To their surprise, they found relatively few middle-income children enrolled in day care. Instead, the typical paying day-care user was more likely to be a child of a professional couple or the child of a single parent.

When the full range of child-care options used by study families was finally understood, the project found that many arrangements tended to be informal and either free or relatively inexpensive in terms of financial cost. For instance, several parents had worked out a type of child care labeled the "split-shift." In the split-shift arrangement, the father was available to take care of the children during time off from outside work while the mother went out of the home to work. Since all but three fathers in the sample held jobs during the core hours of 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., the majority of split shifts involved the mother's working jobs at night or on weekends. Split-shift arrangements imposed severe limitations on the kinds of jobs that women could take. The project members noted the relatively high proportion of women in the dual-worker sample who were nurses or nursing students—seven to be precise—probably because such a career could be left and re-entered with less loss of tenure and because it offered flexibility in arrangements of work schedules.

One apparent advantage of split-shift arrangements was that they obviated the need for outside paid assistance. Child-development advantages were also apparent. The consensus of the Working Family Project is that split shifts lead to good care for young children who can remain in their homes with familiar caregivers and familiar play objects. However, the arrangements exact costs from the parents. In addition to placing real limitations on a woman's advancement in work, the split shift dramatically decreases the amount of time a couple has to spend together. During the work week, couples often saw each other primarily going in and out of the front door of the family home. However, most had decided that the split-shift arrangement was worth the personal sacrifices involved if the child's comfort and happiness were correspondingly enhanced.

A typical example of the schedules split-shift families followed was seen in the case of the Longs. Mr. Long was employed on a shift at a warehouse from 5 p.m. until 1 a.m. He got home around 2 a.m. and slept until 9 or 10. Mrs. Long had a part-time job where she was allowed to vary her hours within certain limits. She usually worked as a typist from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m. but occasionally went to work later if her husband was sleeping in. Each was responsible for the children while the other was away. One result of the arrangement, Mr. Long explained, is that he now understands why his wife likes to get away from the house. After caring for the children alone while she worked, he was really glad when she returned and took over and he could go to work for some peace and quiet.

The split-shift arrangement could create frictions between husband and wife. For instance, a father who participated in the arrangement might think that he was fulfilling his obligation to help his wife by giving the children dinner and putting them to bed while she was at work. The wife who came home at midnight to a kitchen sink full of dirty dinner dishes left over from a meal she had prepared before going off to work might believe otherwise.

A few families in the sample managed to solve their child-care problems by having the wife work in the home or in other places where she could be with the children. Three women provided family day care, and others worked in day-care centers where their children were enrolled. Although there were exceptions, most of them viewed day-care provision as a good way to solve work problems during their children's preschool years rather than as a long-term career.

A few of the families evolved an informal give-and-take child-care arrangement with like-minded families in their neighborhoods. The three families with this arrangement had mothers who worked only part time. The Henrys were a family using this type of care. As Mrs. Henry explained about her relationship with her neighbor: "Leila takes the Marshs' kids and mine. Now I'll watch hers and the Marshs' little boy. It's done for nothing . . . it does get tiring sometimes. I had five the other day, and I was glad to see them go."

Despite the large proportion of families with relatives in the Boston area, only one family reported using a grandparent for child care during the working day. In explaining why she turned to her mother, Mrs. Raymond said, "This isn't a year-in, year-out thing, this is something that happens maybe 2 months out of 6 or 7 years." Relatives were relied on more often to provide occasional care of children while the parents were engaged in leisure-time pursuits.

A total of 11 families in the sample managed to meet their child-care needs without actually paying for them. Families who used out-of-home paid day care usually discussed its benefits to the child in terms of increasing his or her exposure to a variety of experiences and people. The decision to use a paid care arrangement frequently went along with a mother's employment in so-called prime-time working jobs. In addition, these families were more likely to perceive the mother's work as a stepping stone to a career or to long-term advancement and were usually willing to make the financial investment that out-of-home care required. They also prized dependable care.

Many of the families had at least tried out paid group care at one time or another. Most described how they met with some initial resistance from young children in the form of reluctance to be left—which might continue from a few days to a few weeks. Whether or not they persisted in using the care in the face of a child's reluctance depended in part on the family's dedication to the mother's employment. One difference between those couples who stayed with paid day care and those who did not seemed to be that in the former the wife saw her job as more than a respite from housework or a source of a bit of extra income and was willing to wait out the period of the child's discontent with the child-care situation. In the case of families who gave up after a brief try, the parents often saw in the child's discontent confirmation of the mother's primary role as chief nurturer. While all the families in the study demonstrated deep concern for their children, those who persisted with day care despite a child's protest were less focused on the maternal role as the single most important one in the mother's life.

As was mentioned earlier, use of multiple child-care strategies often complicated the family's scheduling. One reason for use of multiple-care strategies was the presence of two or more children in the family, especially if one child was in school and the other a preschooler. The pressures placed on parents (particularly the mother) in accommodating to the demands of multiple-care strategies were great. For instance, Mrs. Wyatt worked full time as a secretary at a nearby real-estate agency, where she was also studying real-estate sales and management. Mr. Wyatt was a fireman and worked part time as a carpenter. Mrs. Wyatt rose at 5:30 each morning of the week to begin readying the children, Christoper, age 6, and Oliver, age 4, for school. She found this easier than getting the children up later and rushing them (in which case they balked and she was later than ever for work). Christopher attended first grade at a neighborhood school. Oliver was in a local nursery-school program from 9 to 12, 3 days a week. A neighbor and friend, whose son attended the same nursery, drove Oliver to school and then picked the boys up at noon. Mrs. Wyatt had to leave by 8 a.m. for work, so Christopher walked to a friend's house nearby and waited there to go to school with him. When Christopher came home from school at 2:30 p.m., he picked up Oliver and the two boys walked to another neighbor's house, where they were cared for until 5 p.m., when Mrs. Wyatt got them on her way home from work. On the days when Oliver did not have school, he usually stayed with the woman all day.

During the evenings and on weekends, the Wyatts took turns watching the boys, since Mr. Wyatt had to work occasionally. In addition there were often errands that needed to be run. The complicated schedule the Wyatts had worked out could be all too easily undone, as happened when the afternoon babysitter's husband became seriously ill. Mrs. Wyatt's mother lived in a nearby town and was able to fill in for a few days until a temporary substitute could be found. Illness and other emergencies were a constant threat to the precarious stability of multiple-care arrangements. When asked what she might change about her own child-care situation, Mrs. Wyatt replied, somewhat poignantly, "I'd like something a little more permanent. Not so many changes."

Integrating the Worlds of Work: Home and Workplace

Who does what around the house? For most of the couples in the Boston study, a wife's return to the work force necessitated at least a few changes in the way that domestic chores were performed. Different couples evolved various strategies for coping with these new demands, and this variety was the subject of intensive investigation by the Working Family Project.

In writing about their findings on division of labor, 25 Project members make the point that housework is not trivial; its performance has a major impact on a family's quality of life. But it is time-consuming, and there are a number of ways to get it done.

In the dual-worker families, reallocation of chores was not the only important issue that couples had to negotiate. Often, underlying new divisions of labor was the need for changes in attitude toward the work that each partner performed or thought most appropriate to perform. Demands for changes in the way housework was carried out usually came from women who were dissatisfied with having to do nearly everything in the home and work outside as well. Husbands tended to resist such pressures. The issue was a sensitive one for many couples, as it involved challenges to long-held and deeply ingrained notions about the proper roles of men and women.

Some men spoke openly of their discomfort at being compelled or even being asked to do "woman's work." They could develop rather elaborate rationalizations for their unwillingness to perform around the house, as was the case with Mr. Sedman, a bricklayer. Both he and his wife worked all day out of the home. At night her discontent was obvious when he would adjourn after dinner to relax in the living room while she cleaned dishes from a meal that she had prepared. He admitted that she never openly confronted him on the issue, but she made remarks that he interpreted as asking him to help. Mr. Sedman thought that this was unfair. As he pointed out, his work was physical and could not be compared in difficulty to the office work that his wife performed during the day. Therefore, it was all right for him to sit down and relax at night.

Women, while demanding more from their husbands in many instances, also shared some ambivalence about changing the domestic status quo. The Working Family Project found a tendency among wives to equate cleanliness with a high level of performance of their role in the home. Since the home rather than the workplace was central to the identity of most women, they were unwilling to part with the homemaker role. Even in instances where husbands did perform household chores, wives tended to be critical of their efforts. One man noted that his wife was much fussier about dirt since he had assumed some responsibility for dusting, and she, on the other hand, noted how he worked only "around the edges." Even when men took on a particular task, they tended to execute it with less thoroughness than their wives would have.

Members of the Working Family Project made a distinction between role-sharing and task-sharing. Role-sharing, they say, involves the assumption of responsibility for the execution of tasks by both partners. Accordingly, in a role-sharing family, the husband considers himself obligated to see that certain things are done, without advice or reminders from his wife. Task-sharing is a second mechanism for dividing labor without actually changing underlying assumptions about proper roles of the marital partners. The task-sharing husband "helps out" his wife as she needs his assistance, either on a short-term or a long-term basis. But the ultimate responsibility for seeing that something gets done remains hers. Likewise, the task-sharing couple see the woman's outside work as a way of "helping out" the husband in his performance of the breadwinner role. He remains, however, chief performer in this domain. The Working Family Project notes that most of the couples in their study were more comfortable with the concept of task-sharing. Viewing their spouses' contributions in this way allowed them to preserve traditional notions of the proper structure of the family (homemaker-nurturer vs. breadwinner) while at the same time dividing tasks among themselves. The researchers also note that women were more willing (and in some cases more eager) to assume a breadwinner role than most of the men were to assume a "househusband" role.

In their sample, the Working Family Project found only two couples who had actually negotiated the issue of roles and had decided upon a split of domestic responsibilities. In each case, the wife reported pleasure with the new equitable division but also a residual reluctance to decenter herself from the home. Each wife also demonstrated a high commitment to her outside job. In the other families, helping out remained the mechanism by which a new division of labor was undertaken. Men who "helped out" might perform a great deal of housework, as in one family where there were several children present in the home. The mother had been working for years and the husband helped out extensively throughout this period. He saw himself as continuing to do so on a more or less permanent basis, but he still described his wife as retaining primary responsibility for the role of homemaker, even though for the forseeable future she could not shoulder the entire burden of domestic work because of the conflicting demands of her outside job.

Many of the women in the sample accepted this definition of their responsibilities. Mrs. Henry stayed at home with her children all day and then went to work at night. Despite the tremendous pressures placed on her, she still expected herself to be a good mother and a meticulous housekeeper. Mrs. Sandle was pregnant with her second child at the time of the study and was working 40 hours a week. Nonetheless, she chided herself for being "lazy" because she rested in the mornings. Hence, the working women in the sample were more likely to add new responsibilities to the domestic ones that most saw as primary rather than to rearrange their households so that tasks and roles would be more equally shared or simplified.

Couples in the sample were asked to complete a checklist on allocation of chores in the home. Results corroborated the impressions gained from interviews. Typically, women reported themselves as carrying out time-consuming daily chores such as cooking, cleaning, doing laundry, and making beds. These are precisely the tasks whose accomplishment is undone daily by the family. Husbands varied in the amount they helped out but men usually performed repairs and outdoor tasks. Most avoided those activities that the culture at large has defined as "woman's work."

To the extent that husbands regularly shared in home-centered tasks, they were almost invariably more involved with child care than with housekeeping. Since husbands were less preoccupied with the endless demands of managing a home than were their wives, they could play with their children, giving them their relatively undivided attention. The wife, in her role as housekeeper and mother, was usually involved in several activities at once. Especially if she worked outside the home during the day, her children could be particularly in need of attention and interaction at just that time when demands were heaviest on her for the preparation of dinner. Perhaps as a result, both husbands and wives tended to see the man as the more patient parent. For example, in the Henry family, Mrs. Henry cared for the children all day and then went to work at night. Before she left she cleaned the house and prepared a meal for the family. Mr. Henry could not understand why she didn't relax more and enjoy the children as he did. Neither seemed to recognize how the allocation of home-centered work affected the time and emotional energy available to her for enjoyable child care.

The Working Family Project also notes that for many women a source of resentment was to be found in their perception of the husband as taking over many of the more pleasurable aspects of child care—for instance, bed-time stories—while they, the women, were left with domestic chores and routine child care. The husband who helps out may remove from the wife's domain one of the most rewarding aspects of her role.

While not minimizing the strain on the father in dual-worker families, the Working Family Project saw the mother as subject to more pressures. The toll women paid in trying to assume new responsibilities along with the old was a sense of being rushed constantly, under pressure, never able to relax or consider a job properly finished. The toll was compounded when a husband was ambivalent over a wife's working.

Most of the women interviewed admitted to feeling tired during the day although several said they were "ashamed" to say so. Others perceived themselves as irritable and edgy with their spouses and children. Trying to live up to the supermother/superwoman ideal as many did, they took on too many tasks at once. The Working Family Project believes that most of the women lacked clear models of working mothers or even a secure and realistic sense of their own role responsibilities and their limitations and instead strained to combine and reconcile competing demands on their time and energy.

About half the women in the sample expressed dissatisfaction with their domestic work situation. What they actually did varied, however. Some tacitly accepted it without engaging their husbands in overt argument or discussion, and two negotiated changes in roles. For others, the issue of housework remained a constant source of overt tension in the marriage.

On the other hand, change, while slow and difficult, could be noted in the families. For instance, many of the women at first emphasized financial reasons for their return to outside employment, saying that they were "helping out" the family. Subsequently, however, several expressed a real determination to work and to pursue a career. It does not seem implausible to suggest that the tentativeness they felt at the beginning about working was gradually overcome by the success of their new arrangements. Over the course of the experience, many came to see outside employment as a regular and normal part of their daily lives. Likewise, many men expressed to the interviewers how they had to rethink their roles as husband, father, and worker. Most began their participation in child care with an uncertainty which seemed to come from inexperience with infants and toddlers, but as their confidence grew they began to see themselves as much better parents than their own fathers and they took pride in their roles. Nonetheless, despite their apparent willingness to expand their participation in child care, and despite the fact that they were usually doing more than before, they were more resistant about doing housework than were women about doing outside work. This circumstance suggests something of an assymmetry in role transitions for men and women. The Working Family Project hypothesizes that in some of the families the initial stages of "helping out" were being transformed into something closer to actual role-sharing. However, the spouses often had different views of this transformation, many women ultimately seeing their participation in the breadwinner role as more than just helping out and most husbands not sharing this perception. Even in the two self-consciously egalitarian families in the sample, there were pressures to retain a more traditional sex-role organization. Where models of a new social form are unavailable, the impulse toward older norms remains strong.

Choice of Jobs, Career Commitment and Family Responsibilities

The choice of jobs and the individual's attitude toward his or her employment reflected further aspects of differences in perceived roles and responsibilities. While the home front remained a major arena of conflict for many couples, and while some of the women were consciously evolving new notions of their function in the paid work force, the provider role remained the most salient one for men and one which all the men in the dual-worker sample took with great seriousness. The importance with which the earning function was regarded by the men was demonstrated by their work histories. Several explained to the interviewers how marriage and children forced a man to become very concerned with job security. Of the 11 men in the sample over 30 years of age, 3 had held their job for 10 years or longer, and 4 had been at the same job between 5 and 7 years. Time and again, the theme of stability and security recurred in reflections. Mr. Neal left a job in a white-collar company when his first child arrived and took a 30 percent cut in pay to become a teacher for the greater job security that teaching provided. Other men reported that they stayed in jobs they found difficult or boring in order to satisfy their family's needs for security. For men, their main role definition was outside the home, but they considered their outside work to be a family-related activity. Men were likely to report greater stress in the performance of their paid jobs than in their home work, whereas for women the opposite was the case. One of the mothers, a registered nurse, held a very taxing emergency-oriented job, but she spoke of it as a respite from the demands of the home. On the other hand, if men complained of stress, they were likely to identify outside work as its source.

Differences in perceived responsibility were also reflected in the types of jobs chosen. Very few women had jobs that had benefits or retirement programs. Most of the men held such jobs. More than the men, women placed importance in job choice on the task-extrinsic criteria such as hours, convenience of commuting, the character of the physical surroundings, and the friendliness and helpfulness of coworkers.

The differences in importance given to criteria probably reflected real differences in demands placed on men as compared with those placed on women. Women were expected to put their home responsibilities above those of paid work and to bear the principal burden of child care and housework. Many chose jobs because of the need for schedules or locations that would allow them to meet family obligations.

Women's greater emphasis on pleasant physical surroundings and friendly coworkers may have reflected the lesser intrinsic rewards of their outside work. If the work itself is boring, then it is important that the interpersonal aspects of the job be pleasant. Mrs. Samuels, a home day-care provider, described an earlier job she had.

> It was full time but a lot of the time, there wasn't enough to keep me busy even half the day. It was a really boring job. The only thing that made the job worth while was the people I worked with. They were just wonderful. But the job was very boring.

For many women, work surroundings were important because outside employment was the means by which they escaped from the isolation and tedium of being at home all day. Some said that work provided a means of preventing personal stagnation, offered a source of adult companionship, and furnished a way of keeping well-rounded. They thought that an expansion of their personal horizons was of benefit to their families as well.

Being a Good Parent

Being a good parent, in a confusing and dangerous world and in the absence of clear role guidelines, was perhaps the chief concern of the majority of the couples in the sample. This concern was reflected in choices of substitute child care, in the compromises many of the women had made in their jobs, and in the men's search for job security even at the expense of excitement or advancement opportunities. It was also reflected in opinions articulated during the hours of conversation that the Working Family Project engaged in with them.

Parents of both sexes, but particularly mothers, tended to be obsessed with the issue of maintenance of high standards in the performance of childrearing. Some complained that outside work had caused them to lower their standards although the evidence they could marshall in support of these claims was limited. Lein reports a particularly telling anecdote about one mother in the sample. Upon arriving at the family home for observation, Lein was greeted at the door by an upset woman who proceeded to characterize herself as a "terrible mother." As it turned out, the woman's 4-year-old daughter had gotten out of bed at sunrise and had gone into the kitchen where she cracked eggs and mixed them with detergent. She proceeded to smear the mixture on the walls of a hallway. Upon discovering the child's deed, the mother lost her composure and screamed at her. This behavior she defined in herself as an incident of poor mothering.

Virtually all parents had difficult-to-maintain notions of what a good parent ought to be. If they had experienced a happy childhood, they measured their performance against that of their own parents. If they did not hold pleasant memories, they strove to surpass their parents' performance. However, despite well-defined goals of producing a happy, adjusted child, very few parents had models of the *behavioral means* for achieving the desired ends.

For example, most parents were reluctant to accept advice about childrearing from their older relatives because they, the parents, thought times had changed so dramatically that such counsel would be obsolete. Others noted that the older generation had been far from faultless in childrearing. As Mrs. Henry remarked, "I don't think the way I raise my children is any of my relatives' business. If their kids were perfect, I'd go to them and ask how they did it, but they're far from perfect." Resistance to advice from grandparents was also a way of differentiating the newer family from their families of origin, particularly if they lived in close proximity.

The dual-worker families were likewise ambivalent about expert opinion. Mrs. Long said of the ubiquitous book of Dr. Spock: "When they [the children] were sick or something, I'd look it up . . . otherwise, he has a lot of screwy ideas." And Mrs. Hunt remarked, "When I first started out, I lived with Dr. Spock. Then I decided, I'm not going to bring my children up out of a book."

On the other hand, what reading the parents did in popular child development led many of them to believe that the personality of a child was strongly molded, if not determined, by environmental events occurring before the age of 3. Viewing themselves as responsible for providing an optimal environment for their children's development and yet lacking clear guidelines for parental behavior, the couples tended to rely heavily on their own inner resources or on talking things out between themselves. This need to define standards, particularly during the preschool years, added yet another significant stress to their lives.

The theme of parenting in a dangerous world kept recurring in conversations. The source of threats to the child was not always easily identified, although drug pushers were frequently mentioned, perhaps because of media attention to drug problems in the schools. Couples would discuss their anxiety over the prospects of rearing a child responsibly only to lose control later on. One woman noted that her son was a wonderful individual, "a great kid," and would continue that way unless some force "out there" got to him. Underlying the reluctance of some parents to allow outsiders to care for their children was the anticipation that the substitute rearers would hold values different from those of the parents.

Whatever problems they anticipated in the future or had to deal with in the present, the couples in dual-worker families were highly focused on the needs of their children. They hoped to instill in them "good" values and to promote their healthy development. To that end, the worlds of home and work had to be coordinated to make the children's lives secure and pleasant.

Summary

The Working Family Project came to establish rapport with most of the families they studied. Their efforts allow others to share a candid picture of how one group of urban married couples managed to coordinate the worlds of work and home. What emerges is a view of people trying to maintain some tradition within change. The welfare of children and the value of having them is held highest by most parents, although as concessions to economic factors many have limited family size to fewer offspring than they desired in the early years of marriage. In an era reputed to be egocentric, many of the couples arranged split shifts so that youngsters could remain in the home—this at the sacrifice of free time to spend together as a couple.

Economic factors necessitated wives' return to the paid labor force and had some influence on the way that the house was run. Perhaps understandably, women tended to be more stressed by their dual tasks than men, who oftentimes resisted change. But both men and women appeared to be somewhat reluctant to redefine their central roles. Women remained emotionally tied to the nurturer-homemaker role and tended to hold unrealistic expectations for their performance in the worlds of home and outside work.

The abandonment of traditional nuclear family structure was, initially at least, a source of difficulty for many. Men were concerned about threats to their self-image as breadwinner and women about the effects of their employment on their children. However, there were indications, even among this apparently conservative group, that they were adapting successfully to the changes demanded by maternal employment. Women, more readily than men, were enjoying new role responsibilities, but both spouses showed some signs of assuming each other's roles.

It is regrettable that not enough time has elapsed so that the 25 families could be viewed longitudinally to see if their apparent ability to cope and adapt despite obvious tensions will be maintained over the years. In the meantime, the findings of the Working Family Project can serve to dissipate some of the more common fears of the decline of the American family as more mothers work outside of the home. The findings highlight positive as well as negative aspects of increasing maternal participation in the paid work force and offer a realistic portrait of family and work life as they exist in urban America today.

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DEPRESSION AND LOW-INCOME, FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

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Not often, but on occasion, a research project is undertaken on the cutting edge of an urgent social issue where "something must be done," even though the knowledge base is not yet secure enough to show clearly what that "something" should be. The Stress and Families Project is such an undertaking. Initially under the direction of the late Dr. Marcia Guttentag, this cross-disciplinary team of women researchers is now under the direction of Dr. Deborah Belle at Harvard's Graduate School of Education.

The Stress and Families Project deals with several urgent social issues that have kindled passion and reaction over the last decade. One is the role of women, an issue formulated, explored, and developed mostly by white middle-class women, but here extended to both white and black low-income women. A second is the cultural phenomenon of depression characterized as "the 70s illness," as anxiety was said to belong to the 60s. Related to both is the common but debated finding that far more women suffer from depression than do men. Still a fourth issue is the specialized but tantalizing one that, like oil and water, research and activism do not mix. And last is the social reality of increasing numbers of low-income female parents who are rearing their children alone and the social issues of what this bodes for them, their children, and society.

To approach this knot of social issues required a broadly conceived research scheme and a broadly scaled research program spaced over several years. Much of the original scheme was conceived under the tutelage and with the driving spirit of Dr. Guttentag. With her sudden and unexpected death, her colleagues' task was the conversion of grief to an abiding commitment to carry the work to its conclusion.

A somewhat special spirit has marked development of the research design and also the relation of the colleagues to each other and to their respondents. The term "sisterhood" is a wan and still awkward expression for the close and interdependent collaboration of the extended team of researchers specializing in different aspects of the project. One outcome of the women's movement has been to question the necessity of a hierarchy or pecking order for the efficient execution of a large and complicated enterprise. The team does not have one. Moreover, in the second phase of the research scheme, a series of intensive interviews with a selected number of low-income families, the team has consistently invited their respondents to share in the collaboration. In part this may be women's movement sisterhood, but it is also a deliberate function of the research objective and design. In human research, gaining the intimacy and trust of subjects may be a precondition for authentic, true responses. In intervention research, trusting the subject's capacity to know what's needed can be an important guide in the research design of interventions.

The research scheme may be divided into three phases. In the first phase a study was undertaken to investigate the validity of the common understanding that many more women suffer from depression than do men and to see why this might be so. One outcome of this investigation was the finding that disproportionately large numbers of low-income, single-parent mother and low-income married mothers of young children were depressed. This led to a second phase of the research scheme, an intensive investigation of a small sample of these mothers, using a combination of recently developed questionnaires, observations, and open-ended interviews. These were designed to elicit what could be learned about the primary causes of such depression and what intervention strategies might be likely to succeed.

Toward the close of this second phase, a conference was held at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in Aspen, Colo. The activist commitment of the project became explicit as the team described the project in careful detail to invited participants from the worlds of journalism and the mass media, the Federal bureacracy, national and State legislatures, and the academic community. The participants were asked in turn to publicize the problem, critique what had been done, and realistically appraise the political, legislative, and program difficulties in actually bringing about effective interventions. The third phase of the research scheme is still ahead. It has two parts. The first will be a follow-up to the second phase intensive study, to confirm many of its leads. The second will be to test a selected number of interventions in the light of the advice from Aspen and of findings from the follow-up study.

It is a long and sustained march the team has undertaken, ambitious in its variety of goals and challenging in requiring control of the tensions introduced by trying to satisfy all of them—the rigor of practicing science, the commitment of finding ways to mitigate a painful social condition, the bonding to women who need help.

THE FIRST PHASE

In the early 70s, one consequence of the rising consciousness and sense of outrage of militant feminism was a claim by Phyllis Chesler in a book for the general reader, *Women and Madness*, that in the area of mental health women are blatantly misdiagnosed and mistreated (1971). Much of the evidence offered was anecdotal, based on individual interviews, and some of the statistical data on in- and out-patient populations do not support the claims made from them.

At about the same time a study of Gove and Tudor (1973, p. 823) concluded that "All of the information on persons in psychiatric treatment indicates that more women are mentally ill." The claim was made not only in the sense that more women were becoming mentally ill, but also in the sense that more women than men are mentally ill. While the claim in the first sense was statistically supported, the claim in the second sense rested on an extremely narrow definition of mental illness that excluded diagnostic categories such as alcohol disorders, drug disorders, organic brain syndromes, personality disorders, and transient situational disorders of childhood and adolescence, in all of which men predominate.

In truth, not enough was known about the relation of women and mental health to be able to separate fact from mere assertion. Hence, the first phase of the study singled out this problem as a place to begin. A collaborative study was conducted by Harvard University and the National Institute of Mental Health, called the Women and Mental Health Services project, and the Co-Directors were Marcia Guttentag at Harvard and Susan Salasin, the project officer at NIMH. Statistical data provided by NIMH's Division of Biometry and Epidemiology included trend data on sex differences in utilization rates and data on use of community mental health service facilities. This was added to the data on use by women and men of State and county mental hospitals, publicly supported facilities, and private psychiatric treatment, out- and inpatient care in general hospital psychiatric units and in private mental hospitals.

All these sources of statistical data were brought together and analyzed to see whether there are sex differences in the use of mental health services and in what categories of illness such differences may occur. But this only indicated the data for people seeking treatment. It did not indicate the sex differences and prevalence of these illnesses out in the general population. The latter would be needed, too, in order to decide what the problems were, how large, and then what might be done about them. So to the data analyses of use of services were added reviews of the epidemiological literature on prevalence and incidence of mental illness, both nationally and internationally.

Findings

Women and Depression

Women are more likely to be depressed than men. Epidemiological studies show that more women than men show symptoms of depression, and utilization rates show that women have a much higher rate of treated depression than do men. Among women, nonwhites generally show higher rates of mental illness than do whites. The highest rates are found among separated or divorced men and women. Among women the highest rates are in the 25-44 age group. Among married women depressive symptoms are most common among women who have no children or women whose children are living with them. Older women, whose children have left home, do not show such high mean depression scores. The percentage of women and men diagnosed as having personality disorders, neurosis, and schizophrenia are roughly equivalent, yet twice as many women as men are diagnosed as suffering from *depressive* disorders (Redick 1974). These peak for women in the the 25-44 age group. Depression is the leading diagnosis for women, except in State and county mental hospitals, where schizophrenia is first. In contrast, for men, alcoholic disorders, schizophrenia, and personality disorders, in that order, are the leading diagnoses for State and county mental hospital admissions, and schizophrenia and personality disorders in community mental health centers. In developed nations mental health utilization figures show significantly greater numbers of depressed females than males (Weissman 1975). Nearly all studies of treated cases of depression show a marked increase in young females diagnosed as depressed during the past two decades. Recent epidemiologic studies confirm the preponderance of depressed women (Radloff 1975; Pearlin 1975).

The rate of depressive disorders seems to be increasing. In 1971 the single diagnostic category with the largest number of additions was "affective and depressive disorders." It is the leading diagnostic category for both white and nonwhite women. These increases do not appear to be the result of diagnostic bias or changes in psychiatric labeling. If one looks beyond treated cases to evidence from the world at large, epidemiologic studies of suicide *attempters* show them to be overwhelmingly young females, mostly between the ages of 20 and 30, with an increase among married and separated/divorced women. Several studies of the personality of suicide-attempters have found most of them (about 80 percent) to be clinically depressed at the time of the attempt. The typical suicide-attempter tends to be a young woman from a lower middle-class background who has a recent history of serious interpersonal conflict, especially divorce, separation, or a rocky marriage (although the numbers of actual suicides are disproportionately male). One recent study found that the most depressed women were those who were poorly educated, were working at low-status jobs, and were married, with children at home. Scores indicate, too, that the lower the age of the youngest child, the higher the likelihood of depression. It is the young, married, working low-income mother who is most likely to be depressed (Radloff 1975). These findings are also supported by community studies in other developed countries. Further, economic hardship, social isolation, and parental responsibilities are life conditions that impinge most sharply on the single-parent family head, who is nearly always (97 percent of the time) a woman (Pearlin 1975).

These findings provide a clue to some causes of depression. The findings are, however, at odds with hormonal theories that place menopausal women as particularly at risk for depression and with psychological "empty nest" theories about mothers of similar age confronting homes without children and hence lives bereft of their main purpose and function.

In response to the findings an hypothesis emerged about some causes of depression consistent with them. High rates of depression seem to be associated with stresses that derive from life conditions such as single parenthood, low income, poor education, and responsibility for young children. An additive stress theory is consistent with several findings. Women with young children at home show higher mean depression scores than women whose children have left. The fact that larger numbers of nonwhite than white families have a single parent is consistent with the higher rates of mental illness in black than white women. The hypothesis of the additive stress theory is that, cumulatively, different sources of stress increasingly put one at risk for depression. Added stresses become too much to bear, and if there is no relief from them, the risk of depression increases.

There is a close connection between Seligman's concept of learned helplessness and the powerlessness of many women's roles . . . .

But there is a second part to the hypothesis. The sex differences in rates of depression may be related to *conditions of* *helplessness* in responding to stresses. According to Seligman, the etiology of a particular depression includes a past history of learned helplessness which creates susceptibility in the person (1974). Further, a current situation of helplessness is the immediate environmental agent of the depression. The hypothesis assumes that the role society teaches many women encourages them to learn helplessness: to be passive, not to be aggressive, not to seek power but to trust others, to nurture others and put their needs before one's own, to appreciate mastery in others and not threaten them with one's own, and so on. Thus, there is a close connection between Seligman's concept of learned helplessness and the powerlessness of many women's roles which may help explain the greater prevalence of depression among them.

Recent research (Dohrenwend 1973) has tried to relate stressful life events to physical and mental symptoms and in an additive way to health problems of all kinds. Examples of stressful life events are divorce, loss of a spouse, loss of a job, relocation, and even minor stresses such as quitting smoking or dieting. Epidemiologic studies show a high correlation between such stresses and mental health symptoms. So still a third part of the hypothesis is that lives of depressed people may show a greater number of precipitating life-stress events. We should distinguish these *life events* from the more general and long-lasting life *conditions* that are the subject of the first part of the hypothesis, such as being poor, living alone, and raising small children.

There are thus three aspects of this hypothesis: stress of life *conditions*, learned helplessness, and stress of life *events*. According to this socio-psychological explanation of depression, we should expect to find it among people with the highest rates of stressful life conditions and life events with which they must cope, and at the same time the fewest actual possibilities for mastery over them. This hypothesis is consistent with biochemical theories. Although learned helplessness and the stress of life conditions and events may combine to cause depression, biochemical studies of depression indicate that there are biochemical correlates of these states. (Indeed, although this study does not test for biochemical correlates of depression, there may be a feedback system between the biochemical and psychogenic aspects of depression.) It remains for the second phase of the study to begin to investigate the validity of this hypothesis.

Other Findings

- Women are more likely than men to be diagnosed as neurotic, and men are more likely than women to be diagnosed as having alcohol disorders.
- The data are ambiguous about whether men or women are at greater risk for mental illness. Men show higher rates of admission to State and county mental hospitals, while women show higher rates to community mental health centers. Before any comparisons can be made, the type of mental illness must be expicitly defined.
- Though data are sparse and subject to different interpretations, available information suggests that people from lower social classes have a higher risk of mental illness than people from higher classes.
- People who are separated or divorced show higher rates of mental illness than people in other marital-status categories. Further, the data imply that rates of mental illness are much higher among single men than among single women.
- Regarding age, the highest rates of mental illness for women are in the 25-44 age group, the second highest are in the 15-24 age group. For men, these two groups also have the highest rates, but the order is reversed. In addition, men in the youngest group, 18 and under, have a much higher rate of admission to mental health facilities than females in that age group.

THE SECOND PHASE

The burden of findings from the first phase led the Harvard team to focus for its second phase on depression in mothers of young children in low-income families. The objectives were to investigate the kinds of stresses that lead to their high rates of depression and to study the effects of these stresses and depression on their young children.

An Intensive Field Study

The members of the team now turned from broad gauge epidemiologic studies of depression prevalence in treated and untreated populations to an entirely different research approach and design, an intensive field study of 43 low-income mothers and their children. This was zeroing in from a national picture to an intimate look at people in a family.

The age of the women varied from 21-44 with a median of 30. They were racially divided, 21 black, 22 white. By marital status 20 were single—never married, widowed, separated or divorced, and 23 coupled—12 legally married and 12 living with a man. Most had some high school education, almost two-thirds had a diploma. Their median age at the birth of their first child was 19. At the time of interview, 32 of the 43 were receiving Aid For Dependent Children benefits. The median number of household members was 4.6, and the median per capita yearly household income was $1,452.

The women were recruited from three Boston area neighborhoods, one mostly black, one mostly white, and one mixed. Contacts were made through community groups, settlement houses, political groups, day-care centers, housing projects, and schools. A financial incentive was offered for participation. An attempt was made to keep income and educational differences between married and single women and between black and white as small as possible. Conversely, women were selected with a wide range of educational and working histories, with from one to many children, living with from none to many additional kin.

Two researchers worked with each family. One interviewed the mother. The other observed family interaction in the home over a series of sessions, interviewed the children about their relationship with their parents, and interviewed the parent(s) about child-rearing practices. Black women were interviewed by a black woman and white women by a white one. All of the interviewers were women, but some of the child observers were men. Work with each family extended over 3 or 4 months with weekly or biweekly visits. Usually the researchers visited the family separately. Researchers were usually graduate students at the Harvard School of Education experienced in working with low-income mothers and children. Some were middle-aged with families of their own, many had community experience. Most achieved high rapport with their families. No family dropped out of the study after work with them had begun.

The Interviews

One objective of the interviews was to determine the rate of depression among these mothers. A widely used self-report measure of depressive symptoms, the CES-D Scale, was administered to each of them, once toward the beginning of the work with them and once toward the end of the study. The measure asks such questions as "whether their appetite was poor, whether everything they did was an effort, whether they had crying spells, felt lonely, or could not 'get going.'" Twenty such questions covering the past week were asked. A self-report measure was also given for each of three other mental health indicators—anxiety, self-esteem, and locus of control. The measures were the Zuckerman Adjective Checklist for measurement of Anxiety, Rosenberg's Self-Esteem and Stability of Self Scales, and Pearlin's Mastery Scale.

A second objective was to see whether depression correlated in these women with their life *stresses*. This was complicated by the fact that most life-event-stress scales developed up until now have been derived from and are hence possibly unique to middle-class men, though across several races. Dr. Vivian Makosky, of St. Lawrence University and the Stress and Families Staff, is responsible for constructing the life-event and life-condition-stress measures. Her working hypothesis was that these event scales might be missing stressful events unique to women, overlooking or misevaluating stressful events unique to low-income people and, lastly, losing an important distinction between stressful life *events* and stressful life *conditions* (1978). Life-event scales quantify and weigh changes in one's life that additively predispose one to increasing risk for mental or physical disease (Holmes and Rahe 1967). Makosky's hypothesis was that some of the stress in one's life is not related to how much things change (events), but to how much an oppressive condition stays the same where conditions are ongoing, enduring aspects of one's life (Makosky 1978). What needed development, then, were ways of quantifying stressful life *conditions*, considering both severity and duration, in addition to a new life-events scale which would include events more appropriate for women. Both the event and condition measures would include stresses that low-income people experience.

The first part of the Life Events measure asked the mothers for the most recent events that had interrupted or changed their lives. They were then presented with a list of 107 specific events and were asked whether the event happened to them, or to someone important to them, during the past 2 years. If so, each was asked to assign a rating of intensity and duration to the stress. Lastly, each was asked if there were important events within the last 2 years *not* asked about or events older than 2 years that were still causing problems. The reason for asking whether events had happened not only to them but *to someone important to them* was to test a "contagion of stress" hypothesis, to see whether women may add to their own stress by experiencing stress from events that happen to others.

The Life Conditions measure was designed to tap ongoing aspects of these lives that were likely to be stressful. For example, money *events* included a drop in income, foreclosure of a mortgage or loan, and so on, while money *conditions* included lack of financial security and the unpredictability of income. Parenting events included changing child-care arrangements or losing custody, while parenting conditions included having children who were less than 2 years apart, children with handicaps, having no one for child care if one wanted to go out, and so on. Mothers were asked about conditions in the areas of employment, extended family, friends, physical and mental health, intimate relations, law, housing, money, education, and parenting (exhibit 1).

The Discrimination Interview developed by Jacquelyn Mitchell (exhibit 2) tried to assess how powerful a source of stress *discrimination* was, whether related to socio-economic status, race, sex, single-parenthood, or place of residence. The categories of discrimination were determined by each woman herself, not predetermined. She was asked to describe herself in terms of social status, ethnicity, and race and give her own rating to what, if any, kinds of discrimination she believed she had experienced. The interviewer also asked for the setting (welfare offices, schools, jobs) where the discrimination occurred, who was most likely to do it, and what its effect was. Mothers were asked to rate the stressfulness of these experiences.

EXHIBIT 1

Case Study of "R"—Stress and Depression

(Note high correlation of high-depression score with high-stress score. In a typical community survey, anyone with more than 5 life-stress events per year [or 10 per 2 years] would be in the extremely high-stress group. Life events for these mothers ranged from 27-116 per 2 years.)

CES—Depression Score = 36

Event	*To Whom*	*When*	*Stress*
Son assigned to custody of State by father (R lost custody)	Self	2/77	8
R's boyfriend had surgery	Boyfriend	9/77-10/77	8
R hospitalized with bronchitis	Self	12/76	8
Involuntarily unemployed due to illness	Boyfriend	6/77	7
Three members of friend's family died	Friend	1/75-3/75	8
Son had psychological distress (hospitalized)	Son	'77	8
Child left household	Self	6/75	8
Victim of robbery	Self	7/77	8
Victim of beating	Self	8/77	8
Rifle through car window	Mother	9/75	8
Beaten by R's husband	Daughter	8/75	8
Joined a self-help group	Self	6/77	8
Friend arrested	Friend	-	6
Been on probation	Son	10/77	8
Loss or death of a pet	Self	12/75, 6/76	8
Conditions			
Being on welfare	Self	'69	8
Breakup of marriage	Self	'70	8
Illegitimate child	Self	'73	8
Child gets in serious trouble at school	Self	-	8
Lost custody of child	Self	'71	8
Nervous breakdown	Self	3/71	8
Patient in mental hospital	Self	3/71	8
Made appearance in court	Self	'71	8

EXHIBIT 2

A Case Study: Excerpts From Discrimination Interviews

Some blacks and whites feel discriminated against by the same institution.

White Respondent: "There is discrimination by Welfare. They're doing more for blacks than for whites."
Black Respondent: "It was some time ago . . . they (Welfare) were giving out furniture, etc. The blacks were never told. If we found out, we found out through knowing a white friend.

Single parenthood emerged as a major stressor.
Respondent: "I found that as a single so-called 'separated parent,' going to school to attend to my children's affairs had put me in jeopardy—many a day, because there was no man with me. I don't feel that quite deeply anymore. I don't feel that if I would go up by myself, if the children's father wasn't there, around to go with me, then I'd get someone, a man to go. I would not go there by myself anymore . . . ."

Another respondent expressed attitudes she experiences because of her marital status.
Interviewer: "Have you ever felt or been discriminated against because you had a child out of wedlock?"
Respondent: "Yes. Like agencies you go to, for jobs. Like, people look at you, write down how many children you have, and [when] you say you're not married, [you get] the expression."
Interviewer: "How do they express it?"
Respondent: "Like, you know, the expression, like it shows in their faces. Like you catch them whispering or mumbling. You know . . . other people too."
Interviewer: "What other kind of people?"
Respondent: "Like people on the street in general"
Interviewer: "Maybe they'll say, 'Oh, you know, wow! So many kids and not married!"

Dr. Deborah Belle, the Project Director, and Cynthia Longfellow were responsible for the social aspects of the study. Being part of a *social network* of friends and relatives is often regarded as a buffer against stresses of life and depression, and for this reason each woman was asked to describe the kinds of support she received from other people in her social world. Questions were asked about intimate social support ("When you have a very personal problem that you want to talk about, whom do you speak to first?"), and questions about her close friends (how often were they seen, where they lived, how long she had known them). Questions were asked about neighborhood sociability and exchange of favors, contact with relatives, people at work, friends, recent changes in the network.

Strategies for *coping* are also a useful defense against the stresses of life. For this reason an interview on coping designed by Jacqueline Martin (exhibit 3) was included to investigate the ways in which stress is experienced and managed by the women. Given the diversity of their life conditions and unique quality of some of their problems, an open-ended interview was conducted. Four problem situations were selected for in-depth discussion with probes devised to elicit the strains incurred and on whom, the amount of stress experienced, their perceived control and mastery, the social resources available or lacking, and what learning was derived from the experience. Mothers were also invited to list areas in which they wished: (1) more help, (2) more information, and (3) more control. They were asked to discuss what they found hardest to handle when feeling depressed or under stress; to list what was most useful to alleviate these feelings; and to evaluate their current life and coping capacity. One thing interviewers were careful not to do was categorize the mothers as "good, bad, effective or defective copers."

An interview was designed by Kristine Dever to elicit how adequately the social services institutions—welfare, food stamps, and health care—met the needs of the mothers. It explored both what specific programs alleviated stress and what stressful experiences these institutions provoked. Interviewers probed for the kind and quality of service and isolated areas that were a source of stress. The method sought to recognize that the mothers were the best guides in deciding what was valuable and what was better changed.

A *nutrition* interview designed by Polly Ashley included questions about what had been eaten in the last 24 hours and about patterns of food preparation and family meals. Poor nutrition may result from lack of money for food, lack of knowledge about nutrition, or the disinterest or overinterest in food that often accompanies depression. Poor diet may be a significant source of stress in itself, as may also lack of enough food or inadequate means for storing and preparing it.

EXHIBIT 3

A Case Study Excerpt From A Coping Interview

Respondent's Description of a Highly Stressful Situation:

"I was living with a man who was violent. I was constantly in a state of fear. He would beat me up periodically. I got steadily sicker and sicker. I lost weight. I had to get my gall bladder out, and my jaw won't be the same again. Emotionally I got so full of fear. I couldn't talk on the phone or go out of the house. I jumped a lot at nothing at all."

Coping Strategies:

"I saw a counselor once a week."
"I got right in a cab with the kids. We sat on the floor of the cab. We went right over to her place (friend's), and she let us stay overnight."
"Then we went to RESPOND."
"I went over to the Cambridge Hospital Mental Health Outpatient Department. I asked them to admit me and have the kids placed in foster homes."
"I joined a support group—a battered women's group connected with RESPOND."
"I also joined ALANON."
"My family helped for awhile."
"A very distant friend called me just by chance after I got beat up bad."
"They [RESPOND] gave me shelter and even took me to the hospital for X-rays."
"They also stayed with the kids so I could get over to ALANON. They also helped me with transportation."
"The only thing that helped me at all was that I would get out of it—the feeling that one day in some way I would be out of this."
"I also thought that I would eventually learn all the things that made him so angry and that I wouldn't do them anymore."
"I remember trying constantly to control everything so he wouldn't flip out."

Strains and Consequences of the Problem:

"I had no appetite and as I said, I lost weight. I slept a lot but had a lot of nightmares. Patience? Ah, I had plenty of that. You might say I was in a total coma. I got to the point where I couldn't feel anything. Tears, hate, anything. I couldn't feel sad. I forgot what 'happy' meant, just fear, that's all I could feel. There was terrible tension in the air all the time and nothing was spontaneous. Everything was mechanical. The children were in the same shape I was in: tense."

Wisdom Learned from the Experience:

"Now I see that I had a great deal of power. Looking back, I can't think why I gave up all my power. I had it all the time and 'it' couldn't have happened three years earlier. My self-esteem was low when it happened, in a way that's why it happened."

Parent-child relationships were investigated with Cynthia Longfellow and Phyllis Zelkowitz carrying major responsiblity. In each family a target child was picked and observed through six half-hour periods. The child's behavior and interaction with others, especially the mother, was coded to provide an objective record of family interaction patterns, not subject to the mother's or the child's interpretation. The data were used to test hypotheses about the effect on children of stress or depression in mothers as well as the effect of children on mothers in exacerbating stress or depression.

After the six half-hour sessions were finished, Zelkowitz was responsible for seeing that each mother (and father or boyfriend, if present and willing) was interviewed on her *parenting* philosophy and practice. Questions explored her view of the parental role, her opinions on obedience, aggression, dependency, training for responsibility, aspirations for her children, and sense of control over their behavior. Embedded in the interview was an adjustment checklist asking the mothers to report problem behaviors in the target child, which was used as an outcome measure to assess the effects on child development of living under stressful circumstances.

And finally, each of the children had two open-ended interviews to explore their views of the parent-child relationship, eliciting the nature of the emotional ties to the mother, the parental demands and controls used, the sources of conflict and their means of resolution, their understanding of the relation and their attempts at coping. Each child also answered three questionnaires. One was a nurturance scale designed by Elizabeth Saunders to show whom they considered their main sources of support. The second was the Bronfenbrenner punishment scale designed to show whether they perceived the parents as accepting or rejecting. The last was the Swanson Child-Parent Relationship Scale designed to show whether children perceived the relationship as happy, tense, or stressful.

FINDINGS

This extraordinarily intensive and comprehensive schedule of interviews produced an expectably enormous amount of data for analysis. On the CES-D scale, half the women rated as depressed, with a very high mean sample score, as high as those in one study of people who had experienced marital separation wihin the year and, in one site, of people who had recently experienced the death of their spouse. Scores on this measure indicate the extent of depressive symptoms and unhappiness. About a third of the women had received treatment for mental health problems within the past 2 years, most of them without being hospitalized.

All of the women lived in high-crime neighborhoods, but the phrase does not accurately reflect the extent of violence present in their lives. Over one half of them reported that they were victims of crime or household violence or were unwilling participants in sexual acts during the past 2 years. Two thirds reported that either they or someone important to them had experienced crime, household violence, or sexual assault, in that order of frequency.

Both life-*event* stress and life-*condition* stress are strongly associated with the experience of depressive symptoms. The life-conditions score had two parts, one reflecting the objective difficulty of ongoing conditions and the other the result of asking the women to indicate how much stress they felt in each of eleven areas: employment, extended family, friends, physical health, mental health, love and marital relationships, the law, living conditions, money, education, and parenting. Both of these measures correlated more highly with the depressive symptoms score than did the recent life-events score. The "contagion of stress" hypothesis, that women may be stressed by events happening not to them directly but to others on whom they are dependent or for whom they are responsible, was not strongly supported. The high correlation of the life-event score, which included items special to women and to low-income people, lends credibility to the hypothesis that previous stress research has underemphasized the kinds of events experienced by women and especially low-income women.

Frequently named sources of discrimination included the welfare department, rental agents, employers, restaurants, schools and teachers, salespersons, patrolmen, and taxidrivers. Both black women and white women reported more incidents of discrimination by white than by black people. White women were significantly more likely to say they were treated differently after becoming single again than black women.

The network of social support available to a woman has appeared from earlier research to be a powerful buffer against depression and other mental health problems. Living in the same neighborhood for a few years, having good friends nearby, or kin, a network of acquaintances, were all thought to be a protection against depression. But the analyses showed most of these elements of social support were by themselves not sufficient to prevent depression among these highly stressed women. Most of the women had close friends of long standing and did not report that they lacked a confidante. There were no significant differences in depression scores between women who lived with a man and those who did not, or between women living with some other adult in the house and those who did not, or between women who saw their mothers at least once a week and those who did not. Depression was not significantly correlated with length of residence in the neighborhood, number of friends or relatives seen at least a few times a month, or number of close friends.

For women who lived with a man, legally married or not, those who turned to him for emotional support were less likely to be depressed than those who did not. Nine of the 20 such women never mentioned the man as a source of emotional support, a situation that might itself be associated with depression. But several of these nonconfiders said they did turn to their spouses when they had very good news. An hypothesis to explain this might be that when conditions are chronically stressful, women censor themselves so as not to overburden their spouses with further pain. Both the depression and the lack of confidences may result from the same chronic life stress. Perhaps stress acts to destroy marriages of the poor by first making confidences painful and finally impossible.

As an aid to coping, the overwhelming majority of both depressed and nondepressed women would have liked more time to themselves, but there was a quality of desperation to the statements of several of the depressed women. "I can only get time when I steal it, pretend I am going to the store and stay for 2 hours," said one. Another said, " . . . If both the kids were in school . . . to go somewhere and scream would make me feel better." Some relief from the constant presence and responsibility of children was one of the most strongly felt aids to coping.

Most of the women were clients of the Aid to Dependent Children program and virtually all received either food stamps or Medicaid. An anomalous finding was that women with *high* depression scores were *less* likely to report stressful encounters with the welfare system. These findings may indicate that women with high depression scores have accommodated themselves more completely to a loss of privacy and control. An alternative hypothesis is that this indicates an inability to express anger. They may in fact be considered "good recipients" compared to women who are not depressed. Women with *low*-depression scores reported more instances of learning to manage the system by playing a role or learning to act according to the expectations of welfare workers and by informal knowledge. Eighteen percent of them reported having helped other welfare clients as a result of their own experiences. None of the high depression score women reported having taught others to do this. They appeared less likely to take these assertive steps and more likely to feel helpless. Feelings of helplessness about the system and consequent stress were tied to the cumbersomeness of the process, the inadequacy of information about welfare benefits, and the difficulty of obtaining it.

Of those receiving Medicaid assistance, half reported being unable to obtain through Medicaid one or more medicines prescribed by their physicians. Sixty-nine percent reported being unable to obtain one or more dental services, such as dentures, fillings, extractions, or root-canal work. Other women reported not being able to obtain either orthopedic shoes with braces or intrauterine devices.

The diets of many of the women are nutritionally inadequate. Over three quarters of the women did not take enough iron in a typical day. About half of them reported diets deficient in Vitamins A, B1, B2, Niacin, and Calcium. About half the women did not receive an adequate number of calories and almost a quarter had too great a caloric intake. Most of the deficiences found were not related to depression. There was, however, a significant association between both deficient calcium and caloric intake and depression, intriguing because calcium has been implicated in studies of depression. More information on nutrition was a frequent request.

Depression appeared to take a toll on mother-child relationships, according to the six half-hour observation sessions. Depressed mothers spent more time prohibiting or prescribing action and less time in nurturing with help, emotional support, or goods. They were also more likely to use dominating and hostile-aggressive styles with their children. Depressed mothers were less likely to comply to their children's requests. High-life *condition* stress scores also correlated significantly with the mother-child variables of low nurturant actions and high prohibiting and prescribing behavior. Interestingly, mothers' life *event* stress scores were not associated with these variables. Both depression and stressful life conditions may so deplete a mother's energy that she may be less responsive to bids for nurture that draw on her emotional resources. Many of the depressed mothers pointed this out themselves.

Children of depressed mothers were more likely to report themselves unhappy with their mothers and turned to their mothers for emotional support less frequently than children of less depressed mothers. Children of depressed mothers also more frequently reported that they were punished or rejected at home. The interviews showed that children tend to be sensitive and understanding of the stresses in their parent's lives, as long as they feel loved by them. Depression appears to seriously impair a mother's ability to convey the sense of being loved, and hence the relationship of mother and child. Stress in itself does not appear to do this.

Future Research

The Stress and Families Conference, held in July of 1978 in Aspen, Colo., brought together experts from the fields of journalism, the mass media, the Federal bureaucracy, National and State legislatures, and the academic community. It was in a sense the Second Act Finale for the Project, leaving Act Three yet to be played out.

Unlike many research projects, which limit themselves for better or worse to publication of findings for the world to ignore or adopt as fate and the winds blow, the Stress and Families project was actively seeking ways to make a difference. Thus, in bringing together these presumptively worldly experts, the Project was deliberately foregoing a detached research role and seeking to replace naivete with a grasp of political, legislative, and fiscal realities. The researchers wanted to help women they had come to care for and more generally to be effective in mitigating depression and other effects of stress on low-income single-parent mothers.

The Project members presented their findings and solicited critiques of the Project and advice for interventions. Expectably, they were warned by some and encouraged by others for mixing research, concern, and social activism.

More germanely, two participants outlined approaches to the general issue of planned social change, its limits, pitfalls, and justifiable expectations. Several participants provided a host of possible interventions that had been tried in other contexts in other Federal and State programs. Two Federal participants laid out detailed analytic strategies for deciding and refining intervention payoffs and then linking these to cost-effectiveness evaluations. Several State legislators and administrators described in some detail the course of developing and effecting social legislation of the kind the project might want to see developed. One "old Washington hand" gently chided them for not having already cultivated close and continuing contacts with staff of their own State and Federal representatives. Three seasoned journalists suggested the difficulty of even attracting, much less mobilizing, public interest for a project in many ways more appropriate to the populist 60s than the quiescent 70s. There appeared a consensus that new monies available for social projects such as this would be unlikely or limited. Even so, in the high, light summer air of Aspen the Conference generated an infectious spirit of spacious possibility. People wanted to help and wanted the Project to do well.

Sorting this embarrassment of riches inaugurated Act Three, which is still to be written. One of the cautionary notes of the Conference had been not to proceed, from the urgency to do *something* for the distressed women of the study, so quickly as to sleight thoroughness in analyzing the data. The quality of this analysis is a necessary condition for canny choosing and shaping of effective interventions. The "hard data" findings from that knowledge base also provide the *lingua franca* of persuasion and the justification for legislation. Thus, much of the time since the Conference has gone to further analysis of the voluminous data for a final report.

There is to be a followup study of the 43 families to provide longitudinal data and to let respondents know the conclusions of the study. There is to be a meeting to decide on interventions.

Thus with due deliberate speed the Stress and Families Project moves toward the convergence of its different goals. It is too early yet to say what will come of it. The many-tiered and intricate progression through the vastly different skills and processes adumbrated at the Aspen Conference will need to be informed by a polymath intelligence. The number of years of sustained and focused purpose to convergence will need poise and circumspection not often perdurable in group collaborations. But there may be in the Project's goals and how it has proceeded the germ of a somewhat novel and possibly powerful social idea. Sprung from the combination of research and social activism, the Project has proceeded as if it were piecing together what amounts to a kind of vertical industry, with the potential power of economy and efficiency that implies, though the Project does not seek ownership but knowledge. Just as the vertically integrated industry grows the peas and then, for efficiency and cost-effectiveness, harvests, cooks, cans, distributes, and sells them from its own stores, so the vertically integrated social activist, presaged here, might some day identify each stage of necessary knowledge or process and skill, to identify and characterize a social problem, and then to create and put into effect interventions that help to solve it.

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STEPFATHERS AS PARENTS

Principal Investigator: Paul Bohannan, Ph.D.

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At least since Cinderella, stepparenting has had a bad name. Stepfathers have not escaped the onus. This is odd because, as one authority reminds us, "George Washington was the father of our country but the stepfather of . . . 'Patsy' and John Custis. Other noteworthy children of stepfathers include Henry Clay, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Henry Ward Beecher, and Joseph Pulitzer."

This authority, Mona McCormick, teammember on a stepfather research project at the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute (WBSI), La Jolla, Calif., adds: "It can happen to anyone." And these days it is happening to a lot of people. Every year, marriages involving a million children end in divorce. Most of the mothers usually keep their children with them and sooner or later remarry.

Now, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, a WBSI research study goes a way toward clearing the stepfather's name. The principal investigator during the final year of the research was Paul Bohannan, professor of anthropology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, a research associate at WBSI, and the recently elected president of the American Anthropological Association. Bohannan refers to himself as "stepfather of the stepfather study." He succeeded sociologist Louis A. Zurcher, who returned to the University of Texas after 2 years with the project. Sociologist Rosemary J. Erickson, coordinator of research at WBSI, coordinated the collection and analysis of data throughout the study.

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*See note at end of chapter.

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To begin the work, researchers conducted brief doorstep interviews with 1,764 families, chosen to represent San Diego County's 424,000 households in three main respects: income, ethnicity, and neighborhood. (Bohannan and Erickson, both of whom grew up in other parts of the country, consider San Diegans to be fairly typical of all Americans, since many of the San Diegans sampled also grew up elsewhere.)

Then, stepfather families, 9 percent of the total number of households with children, located during these short interviews were visited again and invited to participate in the study. If they accepted, they were asked the name and address of a family much like their own except that the husband was the natural father. Similarly, a natural-father family living nearby was invited to participate if it could refer the investigators to a stepfather family much like its own.

The project wound up with 190 families, 84 with natural parents and 106 with stepfathers. The two types of families were matched as to race, religion, income, education of father and mother, and the age and sex of the children being studied. Families whose children were older than 18 were not included.

Each family was administered a survey research questionnaire that was 60 pages long, contained 130 items, and took approximately 2 hours to answer. The questions were based on information drawn from 10-hour interviews by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists with the fathers, mothers, and children of 30 families—10 each of three types of homes: those with stepfathers, those with natural fathers, and those without fathers. The investigators call these long interviews "case histories."

A questionnaire based on what was learned from these histories was administered separately to the persons in the 190 families chosen for the study—to the father or stepfather, to the mother, and to the child nearest the age of 14. The adults were asked about their background and marital history and about the success of the child at home, in school, and with peers. The stepfather and natural-father families were assessed on numerous other factors as well and were found not to differ significantly on a variety of important characteristics such as cohesiveness, expressiveness, conflict, independence, recreational pursuits, moral and religious standards, and orientation toward achievement. They did differ in intellectual and cultural matters, the natural-father families tending to show more interest in such activities. They tended also to differ on matters of control, stepfather families having more rules to follow.

Children were asked about their own success in the family and the school and with their peers. Their self-esteem and competence were measured. So were the amount of independence they were allowed and the amount of punishment received.

When the answers were analyzed, four major factors associated with the emotional health of children—and, often, of the adults into whom they develop—emerged. These were:

Grades, or how well the child was doing academically; *Family*, or how well the child got along at home; *Friends*, or how many friends the child had in relation to other children his age; and *School behavior*.

The investigation's major findings are simply but unexpectedly these:

Children living with stepfathers do just as well, or just as poorly, on all the many behavioral characteristics studied as children living with natural fathers. They are also just as happy, on the average, or just as unhappy. They do as well in school and in their social life. In general, they get along with their stepfathers as well as the other children do with their own fathers.

Those findings are based on what the children themselves say, what their parents say, and what the measuring instruments used during the interviews show. Says Bohannan: "There is no discernible difference using these measures between the children of stepfather families and those of natural-father families."

Obviously, the children with stepfathers reach this normal or average level by very different routes from the others. For one thing, they have experienced the loss of a father either by divorce or death. For another, they have lived in a one-parent household for a period of time. Moreover, they have experienced the entry of a new man into their lives. But these experiences have not harmed them in any of the ways that were measured.

Erickson points out, though, that in stepfather families there had been a period before the stepfather came along when the mother had been alone with the children. So a closer (or else more embattled) mother-child relationship had developed, and it usually seemed to persist into the new marriage.

Also, the children of divorce tended to be more mature than the other children, partly because of the troubles the family had been through and the increased need to pull together; partly, too, perhaps, because they often had to do more household work and take more responsibility.

The women who lived with their original husbands and those who lived with new husbands showed from their responses that they rated stepfathers equally well, or poorly, as natural fathers.

Further, children with stepfathers rated them as highly as the other children rated their fathers. And the mothers who had remarried thought, on the average, that their children got along *better* with the stepfathers.

EXPLAINING THE RESULTS

The stepchild's "trajectory," to use Bohannan's term for growth through the life cycle, had necessarily differed in many respects, and the stepchild had had to face many problems that the other child had not. The investigators do not know just how these problems had been faced—what the child had to do, and how the mother and the stepfather helped or hindered—for the simple reason that the research was set up to look at how the child turned out and not at the course taken. Bohannan thinks that the good outcome can be explained "only by the overwhelming demands of the cultural pattern, which sets the goals a child is expected to reach." In other words, society—not just the family but all the people around a child, and even television—expects youngsters to be obedient, to go to school and do at least fairly well, to get along with people, and to think well of themselves. Children tend to live up to these expectations. "The culture patterns are so strong," Bohannan says, "that normally kids are going to reach a certain level no matter what they have to go through to get there."

Erickson adds: "We think another reason for the good outcome is that the mothers are pretty well intact. One of the things that struck us most is the positiveness on the part of the mothers in stepfather families. They feel they're better off financially than in their previous marriage. They feel they get along better with their new spouse. They think their children get along better with the stepfather than with the natural father. The mother seems to feel positively about this marriage and about this man as the father for her children. So she is actually creating a positive kind of attitude that makes up for any bad things that might have gone before."

"Moreover," Erickson continues, "we found that stepfathers on the whole pay more attention to being fathers. They worry more about it but they also work harder at it. It's a very conscious step they've taken—which certainly is by no means always true with natural fathers."

The findings of the NIMH-sponsored investigation are backed in general by two much more broadly gauged studies. One was the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago. The other was the Youth in Transition Survey (YIT) conducted by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan.

The NORC sample comprised 1,500 males and females chosen in an attempt to represent all persons 18 years or older in the continental United States, except those in institutions. These subjects were asked questions relating to their experiences when they were about 16 years old.

The YIT sample comprised 25 male adolescents from each of 87 high schools across the Nation.

Analyzing the data from both studies, investigators associated with the San Diego project found no substantial differences between the persons raised in families headed by their natural parents and in those headed by mothers and stepfathers. Like any other child, the researchers reported, one who is part of a stepfather family "may have a predominantly positive, predominantly negative, or mixed experience in that family."

Striking differences were noticed, though, in the proportion of people having stepfathers. In the NORC sample, it was roughly 3 percent; in the other, 4 percent—proportions that strike Bohannan and Erickson as unrealistically low, even for 1973, when the studies were conducted.

What about all the research demonstrating harmful effects on children when marriages break up? For instance, many studies here and abroad show a correlation between broken homes—or the dissension and strife that precede the breakup—and later delinquency by some of the children involved. Bohannan points out that a correlation is a statistical matter—a statistically stated association between two events. But it does not demonstrate anything about cause. "I'm a straight-thinking social scientist who will not be taken in by the myths of my profession," he insists. And one of these myths is the almost universally held conviction that an association between two events implies that one of them caused, or helped to cause, the other.

Erickson has a different answer. Today, being a child of divorced parents and having a stepfather are very different from what they used to be, even very recently. For example, the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute has found that about 40 percent of the prisoners studied in San Diego County had stepfathers. "But when you look at a prison population," says Erickson, "you're looking at people from 20 to 70 years old. And the ones with stepfathers acquired them when times were far different. Based on our interviews in the stepfather study, it looks as if having a stepfather today does not create much of a problem for a child—on the average. Now, of course, bad stepfathers do occur, but on the average having a stepfather means that you are going to do as well as a child with a natural father."

Bohannan believes that, even among the prison population, the stepfather had little to do with the child's having slipped into delinquency and crime. "The problem," he asserts, "is the milieu in which the children grew up; a stepfather may make it worse, make it better, or leave it the same."

Because of the earlier findings, nonetheless, the investigators were surprised by the results of the recent study. Erickson's succinct explanation: "*The cultural norm has changed.*"

THE STEPFATHER'S DILEMMAS

More surprising was this finding:

> *The stepfathers thought of themselves as significantly worse fathers than the natural fathers. Why? Bohannan and Erickson believe it is because the stepfathers had thought a great deal more about their obligations as fathers—had, in fact, in many cases, worried about them.*

As Bohannan explains it, a prospective stepfather knows that the woman he's marrying has, say, two or three kids from 5 to

18 years old. He knows these kids and has attitudes about them. And the kids have attitudes about the stepfather. So stepfathers are inclined to worry more and to be less sure of their fathering abilities.

On the other hand, there are some stepfathers who stride blithely into the new situation, confident that because they have raised kids of their own—as about one-half of the stepfathers in this study had—they can raise this new lot and in exactly the same way. "And of course," as Bohannan says, "it's a disaster"—for several reasons, he believes. Children differ. There is no set of rules applicable to all children and on every occasion. One raises children by interacting with them from day to day. Moreover, the stepfather usually hasn't quite as much authority as the natural father. "If the children are your own," Bohannan remarks, "all you have to do is pull rank and say: 'I'm the Daddy around here; shape up.' Stepfathers cannot do that in quite the same degree, because they risk getting the child's mother on their back. And there goes the marriage."

Of course, natural fathers may provoke the child's mother, too. Everybody knows of families where the parents disagree about childrearing. "But imagine the difference if the stepfather and the child's mother have such a disagreement. Now the mother has the kids on her side, and they all turn against this outsider. It's not turning against Dad; it's turning against That Man."

Nobody knows how often such a situation arises. The San Diego study was not designed to find out. Bohannan's views are based on years of observations as an anthropologist working with scores of families, of all structural types.

Then, too, when the stepfather first joins the family, he has to do a great deal of adjusting. As Bohannan sees it, in a natural-parent situation, more of the adjusting has to be done by the child, because he is told what to do. But if a stepfather comes in and tells a child what to do, the child may simply say, "You're not my father, and I don't have to listen to you." On the other hand, many children do not behave that way. Bohannan thinks the secret lies in the mother. Many mothers will not let their new husbands discipline the children. "The guy can't do anything about the children without alienating the wife."

Basically, the trouble arises because at first there are only two axes—the one between the husband and wife, and the one between the mother and the children. The missing axis, the one between the stepfather and the children, has to be built from scratch. The situation may be even worse. Some children told the investigators that they had made up their minds to get rid of the stepfather even before he moved in.

Bohannan recalls a case, not part of this study, where a man and woman had been divorced. The man had remarried, but the marriage had soon broken up. A few years later, the mother remarried. Then the children came to her and confessed: "We got together and we broke up Dad's new marriage, and we think we're going to break up yours, too." Why? Because the children wanted their natural parents to be living together again. "The parents were miserable together," Bohannan recalls, "so why try to bring them back again? The kids didn't look at it that way, of course; kids never do look at it that way." In that case it was 3 years before the children settled down and accepted the new man in the house.

Instances like that popped up unbidden in the San Diego County study, too, although the survey technique was not designed to elicit case histories.

DIFFERENT STYLES OF FATHERING

In a separate analysis, working with Carlfred Broderick, professor of sociology at the University of Southern California, Erickson found four dimensions or styles of fathering, each of which had different effects on the child.

The four styles and their apparent relationships with certain elements in the child's behavior follow:

Instrumental fathering, the type in which the father shows a competence in taking care of his family. The principal factors marking this type are relatively high degrees of education, occupational status, income, and interest in intellectual and cultural concerns. Also contributing to this dimension are church membership, active family recreation, and relatively little family conflict.

This type of fathering—instrumental—was positively associated with the child's academic success. It was negatively associated with punitiveness on the part of the parents and with the amount of father-child interaction; in other words, when the father was of the instrumental type, both punishment and interaction tended to be low.

Expressive fathering. Important factors here are the family's cohesiveness, the members' ability to express themselves, frequent interaction of father and child, frequent positive experiences in the interaction between husband and wife, and the man's high self-rating of himself as a father. Of less importance were low family conflict, interest in intellectual and religious-moral concerns, and the family's interest in active recreational projects.

Expressive fathering was positively associated with the child's success in school, his good adjustment at home, and to a high degree with interaction between father and child. Also associated with this type of fathering were the mother's competence and the frequency of her good experiences interacting with her husband. The expressive father was usually the child's natural father.

Autocratic fathering, in which the father's major focus is on enforcing rules. The family is tightly organized and achievement bent. Minor factors include father's low occupational status, a broken home in his background, and conventional moral-religious values.

Associated with this type of fathering were the number of friends the child had (many), the father's punitiveness (high), and the child's behavior at school (poor). More so than other types, autocratic fathers were likely to be stepfathers

Patriarchal fathering. Here the father has generally come from a large family and is a church member. His present family is also large and its income low. Its moral-religious orientation is traditional. Less important factors include the father's low education, and, for most family members, a low measure of independence.

This type of fathering was linked with good behavior by the child at home but tended to be associated with poor behavior by the child at school. Patriarchal fathers, more than the other types, tended to have the final word about how a child should behave.

OTHER FINDINGS ABOUT STEPFATHER FAMILIES

Bohannan and his fellow workers, because resources were limited, could add little to the scant information about *how* children adapt to stepfathers, *how* stepfathers adapt to stepchildren, and *whether* some children turn out well and others poorly in stepfather households for the same reasons as in natural-father families.

> ***"Fathering is fathering. In the job description there is simply no difference. The stepfathers and the fathers have to do the same thing."***

But findings additional to those already reported did emerge, some based on the data analysis and some based on observation of the families.

For instance, Bohannan reports that a person becomes a good stepfather the same way he becomes a good father. "There is no magic about this," he says. "Fathering is fathering. In the job description there is simply no difference. The stepfathers and the fathers have to do the same thing. They have to interact with the children on a day-to-day basis. They have to be supportive of the child's mother. They have to be a role model to the children."

If the natural father tries to be a real father after his former wife has remarried, the same investigator reports, a social quadrant develops—father, mother, child, stepfather—and that may be difficult. "For if the real father tries to do his fathering well," Bohannan continues, "he becomes a joker—in the sense that jokers are wild in poker. His actions cannot be predicted. Seldom can he be seen as anything except a troublemaker. Even when the father does no more than maintain his visitation rights, the problem shows up. So the chances for difficulties are probably greater than if there had been a clean break. But I am not suggesting for a minute that the natural father and the child should not keep in touch. People can manage this problem as well as they do all the others life provides."

In the Bohannan-Erickson sample, there were children who resented the situation and said the real father could not be replaced. There were those who did not want to share the mother. There were also those who welcomed a stepfather because they wanted a father in the house and they wanted the mother to be saved from being alone. On a scale that rated the degree of acceptance of fathers and stepfathers, the numbers ran from 0 to 10, with 10 denoting perfect acceptance of the man. Both the children living with fathers and those living with stepfathers gave exactly the same average rating—6.9.

The mothers rated the children's acceptance of stepfathers more highly than the children themselves rated it. As the mothers recalled, 1 month after the marriage they would have rated the children's feelings as 7—better than average on the 10-point scale. The acceptance of the new man by some children would have been rated zero; on the other hand, some children accepted the stepfather at the beginning but grew to dislike him. At the time of the study the mothers, on the average, rated the degree of acceptance as 8.

The statistical analysis of the information collected during the survey of the 190 families is still in progress, but Erickson offers the following findings:

Better than 40 percent of the new stepfather families lived in the mother's house. Not quite 40 percent moved to a different place, and another 18 percent moved to the stepfather's house. The investigators have the impression that it's best for the children to stay on in the mother's home. But there are some advantages to moving to a different place. One man who had moved into his wife's home sadly complained that he did not have a chair he could call his own. As a matter of fact, that problem of "territory" or "turf" or personal space was found in most of the stepfather families. Other common problems were styles of discipline, division of labor, and, of all things, food—because the stepfather's tastes were frequently far different from his predecessor's.

Not quite 85 percent of the children with stepfathers still have a natural father living. Less than half of these fathers pay child support. Still fewer fathers (37 percent) get together with the child. Sixty percent of the natural fathers have remarried; 20 percent have not. What's happened to the other 20 percent, their former wives do not know.

The mothers of those children who receive visits were asked how the visits affected the stepfather-child relationship. The replies: 58 percent, no effect; 21 percent, positive effect; 15 percent, negative effect; 6 percent, don't know. In a beer-and-potato-chips seminar he had with some of the stepfathers, however, Bohannan got the impression that they were more upset by the natural fathers' visits than the mothers realized.

Concerning discipline, 37 percent of the stepfathers and the same percentage of the natural fathers reported that they were in charge. In 43 percent of all the families (the proportion was about the same for each group), both father and mother played a role. Discipline was the mother's job in 20 percent of each group.

Half of the children said that their mothers spent just as much time with them after the new marriage as before, and almost one-fourth said that their mothers actually spent more time with them—because, Erickson surmises, dating no longer demanded the mother's time and attention. Only 15 percent of the children said their mothers were giving them less time.

Both stepfathers and their new wives were more likely than natural fathers and their wives to have come from broken homes. A sizable proportion of these homes, though, had been broken not by divorce but by death. Of the stepfathers, 40 percent had come from broken homes; of the natural fathers, 24 percent. Moreover, 39 percent of the mothers in stepfather families had come from broken homes, as compared with 24 percent of the mothers in natural families. These statistically significant findings are considered to support to some extent the conclusions of earlier investigators that broken homes in one generation tend to lead to broken homes in the next.

Bohannan emphasizes that "We were set up to find out whether or not a stepfather made any difference in the mental health of children as displayed by their responses to the measuring instruments that we used. At that level, stepfathers don't make much difference in the mental health of the child. At the psychological level—meaning what a kid is like on the inside, what he really is—I think they make immense differences. The children with stepfathers had to solve a different set of psychological problems than the children with natural fathers. But there were no more mental health problems in one group than in the other."

The study was not designed to learn the effect of stepfather loss but did produce a moving anecdote on the subject. It concerns a little boy whose own father had died before the boy was born. The mother married again, and the boy loved his stepfather. But within a few years the stepfather was killed in a motorcycle accident. A year or so later, the mother married again. The boy disliked the new man in the family and ran away. He was found sitting on the corner where his stepfather had been killed.

Among Bohannan's friends, a man married a woman who had a 3-year-old son. They were divorced when the child was 10. The boy had had that man as a father for 7 years, but then the man—having no legal rights to the child and no visitation rights—just disappeared from the boy's life. Bohannan comments: "A wicked thing to do to a kid."

The investigators offer some advice. Erickson says, "Our basic message is: *Take heart, stepfathers*. If you're trying to do a good job, the kids will probably turn out okay." Bohannan puts it this way: "You can't go very far wrong as long as you observe the kids carefully, do your best, and are decent about it."

On the basis of this study, would Erickson advise a normal woman to remarry? "Yes, sure," she answers, "if she felt like it—particularly because it seems to me that having a father is more important than not having a father." The mother should see to it, though, that the child knows the potential stepfather before the marriage. "The children need not approve," Erickson advises, "but they should know." In one case the mother told the children nothing except that she was going away for the weekend. When she returned, her new husband was with her and proceeded to move in. The mother's two children—girls of about 10 and 12—were shocked. Eighty percent of the children in the study *were* told before the marriage, and 75 percent knew the stepfather-to-be, about half of them very well.

With so many marriages breaking up, Bohannan agrees with another authority, lawyer Diana DuBroff, that the time for "divorce insurance" has come. He points out that life insurance can be written in many ways, to do many things. "And there's no reason why it cannot be written so that if the marriage breaks down and a divorce follows, a certain amount of the proceeds can be used to support the children."

Following a review of the literature on stepfathers, McCormick of WBSI concludes that "the single most important factor, aside from general openness to love, appears to be straightforward recognition that the man is a *step*father, not a father; and that the child is a *step*child and not a child." Bohannan and Erickson agree.

DISCIPLINE IN A STEPFATHER FAMILY

In another study, Phyllis Noerager Stern, assistant professor in the school of nursing, University of California, San Francisco, took stepfather families as the general subject of a thesis for her doctoral degree (doctor of nursing science). She was particularly interested in the subject because she herself had brought a stepfather into her family.

After many hours of interviewing stepfather families—30, with 132 parents and children—Stern decided that the salient problem was conflict over discipline. Given this problem, she asked, how do stepfather families become integrated? And she made this question the specific subject of her dissertation.

Stern also concludes: "The advice often given to stepfamilies, to settle differences over discipline prior to marriage, is misguided. Not only is it impossible for the parents to reach such an agreement . . . but the advice runs exactly counter to a natural process in these families, and as such, it can only add to the frustration and guilt feelings of the parents and children in stepfather families."

Discipline that integrates the family, Stern reports, involves these major processes: rule-making; rule-enforcing; "friending," or "the behavior by which the stepfather reduces fear in and gains the confidence of the stepchild and projects himself as a person of value to the stepchild"; and "integrative undermining," or " a process whereby the stepfather reduces the mother's power position by aligning himself with the child in a dispute over discipline." The wise mother "views this as a friendly alliance" and "willingly gives up her position of supreme power over the child."

The achievement of integrative discipline, Stern found, requires from 1 1/2 to 2 years. "The family members need time to get acquainted, to learn to trust each other, and to learn the needs of one another. Efforts to force the issue and hurry the integration are unsuccessful, and result in structural patterns where one family member is left out of the action."

Stern also advises:

"The assumption of child management duties by the stepfather must be slow, time must be spent to make friends with the child, and time is needed to teach the child how it is the adults want him to behave. Conversely, time is needed for the stepfather to learn how it is the child wants *him* to behave. The mother, too, needs time to learn what behaviors on her part are conducive to integration. A part of discipline is learning, and integrative discipline is learning for the whole family." Stern finds, too, that "an understanding of the child's point of view may stave off the stepfather's resentment of a shy or acting-out child"—meaning one who takes out worries and vexations by misbehaving.

Other advice from Stern:

- The stepfather is more likely to succeed if he adopts "a slow, gentle, flexible role-making-and-enforcing approach."
- The child is more willing to comply with family norms if he is allowed to participate in some of the decisions for the family.
- If the family is to move toward integration, the mother must resist persisting in a go-between role—a natural one for her to assume at first—in which she explains the behavior of the child to the stepfather and vice versa, in favor of promoting a direct communication between child and stepfather. But the mother who gives complete management to the stepfather encourages the use of coercive methods to control the child's behavior. The child feels abandoned by both the departed father *and* the nonparticipating mother. The likely result is that the child becomes either rebellious or withdrawn.
- The stepfather who is bent on controlling the child rather than making friends with him blocks the integration process. Since the child will be around for a while, it will be less effort in the long run to make friends with him.

- A united and authoritarian front on discipline may result in a condition where the child feels he is left out of the family or serves as the parents' scapegoat. Such children "are described by their parents as 'spacey,' 'going blank,' or 'absent-minded'."
- Children should have free access to other children so that they can compare notes and thus "relieve tensions brought on by a step-relationship." Although Stern adds that "Children of divorce and remarriage seek support from their peers, adults are quite another matter . . . many of the parents in this study had what they considered serious problems of adjustment, [yet] almost none of them went to their friends for advice, and only a few talked with other stepfamilies."

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Part IV. Families and the Outside World

MARRIED WOMEN: WORK AND FAMILY

Principal Investigator: Louise S. Hauenstein, Ph.D.

Author: Mary C. Blehar, Ph.D., NIMH

It's a rare month indeed that magazines don't produce articles advising American married women on such subjects as husbands, children, and work. "Experts" fill pages of bestselling books with discussions of the problems and rewards of contemporary marriage. Militant feminist authors may treat marriage severely, in terms of its social and political implications for women. Militants of a more conservative ilk may claim to represent the Silent Majority of American married women, who find contentment in performing domestic duties and who believe that although a wife's working away from home may be an economic necessity, it usually results in the disruption of family life and is, therefore, to be avoided.

Even though various forces have already engaged to do battle for the psyche of American women and even though there is a general growing concern over their mental health, opinion surveys asking *them* just how they feel about their lives are scarce.

So it was with amazement a few years ago, in 1973, that Dr. Louise Hauenstein of the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan discovered this fact while searching through scores of journals and books on women and family life. She concluded that what was needed was a survey, free of theoretical biases, which would describe the attitudes of women toward important aspects of their lives, particularly attitudes concerned with husbands, children, working, and economic conditions.

When asked how she became interested in the married woman's situation, Hauenstein mentioned her own background. Herself a housewife, as well as a trained research psychologist, she had worked professionally on a number of papers relating women's blood pressure to various life-stress factors. This work, done at a time when the status of women had just become a prominent issue, led her to wonder how satisfied married women were with their families and their work. She was particularly interested in finding out if there were differences in attitudes between housewives and working wives or between wives of different races.

A quiet and soft-spoken woman, Hauenstein firmly separates her interests from those of radical feminists intent on proving that marriage detracts from the mental health of women. Her research, she said, was done in an academic environment and developed out of a desire to fill a void in knowledge. She strongly believed that a good descriptive study would provide a basis of information. After that basis had been formed, then researchers could and should begin to test various notions about marriage and its consequences. But without that information, little scientific progress toward understanding the condition of the ordinary married woman could be made.

Hauenstein described herself as fortunate to have had available a large pool of information already in existence about married women. This information had been gathered on a Detroit, Michigan, sample by Dr. Ernest Harburg of the University of Michigan as part of a larger study on the role of stress and heredity in black-white differences in blood pressure. From the Harburg sample, she culled the responses of 508 married women, half of them black and half white, half of them housewives and half outside workers, to items concerned with their physical and mental health and attitudes toward their work, as well as toward husbands, children, and friends. The women in the survey were all living within the Detroit city limits with their husbands. On the average, they were 40 years old and had 3.02 children. In 1967, their *family income* was approximately $13,000, although as we shall see, this varied from one part of town to another. In addition, the women in the sample were broken down according to area of residence. For study purposes, some were said to reside in "high-stress" areas, others in "low-stress" areas. The definition of stress areas, rationale for their selection, and criteria used are defined in the next section.

SELECTION OF STRESS AREAS

There is evidence that persons residing in "inner-city" areas exist in an environment sharply different from "outer-city" and suburban areas. The latter areas exhibit rates in educational, recreational, sanitary, and service facilities which indicate attainment of culturally valued levels of living. Conversely, inner-city areas exhibit sharply lower attainment levels and, in addition, repeatedly manifest higher rates of crime, divorce, unemployment, and population density than outer-city areas *(Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 332)*. Detroit is no exception to these contrasts. It was assumed in Hauenstein's study that such statistically different rates, at their end points, indicate environments which vary objectively in chronic exposure to stressor events. Such different kinds of environments were called high- and low-stress areas.

To assign labels, all census tracts in Detroit were rank ordered by their "stress scores." These scores were computed as follows: First, the rates for selected variables (included in table 1) which represented the concepts of economic deprivation, residential instability, family instability, crime, and density were computed for each census tract in the city. The rates were then factor analyzed (a statistical method for yielding underlying dimensions among variables in a correlation matrix), and each of the tracts was assigned a factor score based on the two related factors that emerged: socioeconomic status and instability. The factor scores were separately rank ordered for all predominantly black tracts (50 percent black or more) and for all the white tracts. Then, within each ethnic group, census tracts were selected for having *both* the *upper* range (top 25 percent) for the instability score and the *lower* range (bottom 25 percent) for the socioeconomic status score. These tracts were labeled "high stress." The converse was done to delimit "low-stress" tracts.

To test the hypothesis that differences in socioecological variables might translate into psychologically meaningful differ-

Table 1—Characteristics of the Four Stress Areas

Variable	Black		White	
	High Stress	Low Stress	High Stress	Low Stress
(Total dwelling units)	(4118)	(1910)	(4410)	(1811)
A. Socioeconomic Variables				
1. Median income*	$4,627	$8,670	$5,417	$8,030*
2. Median education (years)	9.6	13.2	9.0	11.7
3. Percentage unemployed	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4. Percentage home ownership	19.0%	92.0%	40.0%	90.0%
5. Percentage professional/managerial	9.0%	49.0%	7.0%	19.0%
B. Instability Variables				
1. Adult crime rate (per 10,000)	89.0	55.9	60.0	9.9
2. Juvenile crime rate (per 10,000)	17.2	6.4	13.5	1.3
3. Marital instability	1:2.9	.00	1:12	.00
4. Percentage in residence five years or more	27.0%	51.0%	48.0%	86.0%

* The reader will note throughout the paper reference to mean family income of respondents that is different from the *median* income figure reported for the four tracts above. Median figures were gathered as part of a census and reflect the earnings of the individual noted as *head of household*. Family income in Hauenstein's study refers to all sources of earnings, from husband, wife, children and other members of the household. Hence, family-income figures are likely to be higher, but also it is to be noted that money available is distributed among more persons. It should also be noted that median income figures present greater income contrasts among the areas than do family-income figures. The discrepancy may be due to the higher percentage of retired, single, divorced, or separated persons, as well as those receiving welfare or unemployment payments in high-stress tracts. Income for such "heads of household" would be expected to be lower in general than the income for most heads in a tract where the majority of households contained married couples (as would occur in low-stress tracts) and hence lower the high-stress tracts average score. Mean family income in a tract must also be adjusted for number of persons in the household (there were more persons per family in high-stress than low-stress tracts) and when this factor is taken into consideration, median household and mean family income figures tend to approximate each other in the degree of contrast offered. In ascribing weight to income in interpreting the stress levels of neighborhoods, it should be noted that income was only one of nine variables included in the definition and not the sole determinant of stress score.

ences, four contrasting neighborhoods were chosen in the Hauenstein study. There were two high-stress and two low-stress areas. Within each level of "socioecological" stress, there was a predominantly black and predominantly white area. Table 1 is a summary of the socioeconomic and instability characteristics of these areas.

Families in high-stress neighborhoods typically had incomes below average and consequently had trouble making ends meet. Housing was often crowded, rundown, and inadequate to accommodate the needs of family members. People living there tended not to be homeowners and moved in and out of the neighborhoods so frequently that there was little chance to get to know who lived next door. Families were plagued with such problems as high-divorce rates and separations from male heads of household. They lived in fear of being physically assaulted on their own streets.

The low-stress neighborhoods presented a contrasting picture. They contained among the best housing Detroit had to offer, the most stable families, the safest streets, and the highest wage earners.

Because Hauenstein thought that one picture would speak more eloquently than a thousand words in describing the four sections of the city, she included photos of typical housing in her final report to the National Institute of Mental Health. Illustration 1 is a picture of the black high-stress neighborhood. Windows in apartment buildings are boarded up, and children are throwing stones at them. Junk cars line the alley where the children "play" amid mounds of trash and garbage.

Of the four areas chosen, the black high-stress section had the lowest income. Male wage earners held unskilled or semiskilled jobs. Very few families owned their own homes, and well over two-fifths of them had moved from one house or apartment to another within the past 5 years. Coming into such a neighborhood was not a housing improvement, however; most people had come from comparable sections of the city. The black high-stress area selected was next to Detroit's 12th Street Tract in which riots had erupted in the summer of 1967.

The black low-stress area, shown in illustration 2, presents a pleasant contrast. Children playing on bicycles are shaded by big old trees. Recent-model autos are parked in front of well-

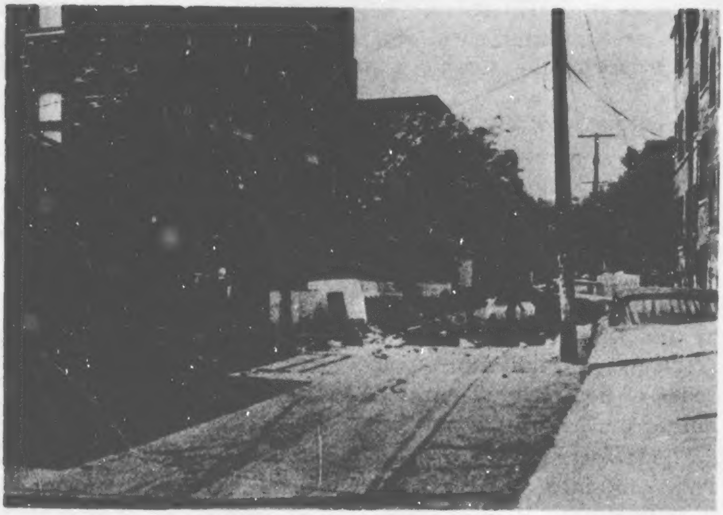

Illustration 1. Black High-Stress Neighborhood

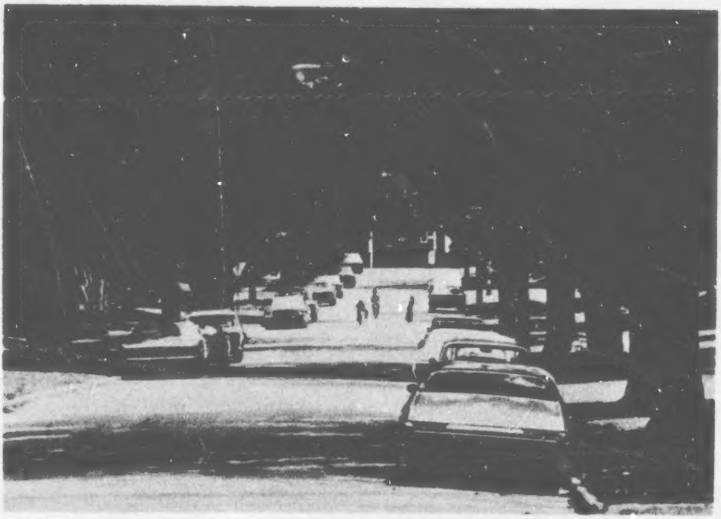

Illustration 2. Black Low-Stress Area

maintained houses. In 1967, this area was 99 percent black; five years prior to that time it had been predominantly white.

The people living in the black low-stress area were a little younger than those from the other areas. They were typically Protestant (Detroit as a whole is about 35 percent Catholic), and most had moved into the neighborhood within 5 years. The black low-stress area was rated by income in the top 1 percent of black neighborhoods in the larger Harburg survey and in the top 5 percent of all neighborhoods in Detroit. Family income of those surveyed was higher than in the other three areas ($15,128 in 1967), and more people had high school diplomas (84 percent). A significant subgroup had completed at least 4 years of college (13.3 percent). This sector represented the historically new black middle class.

The white high-stress area, pictured in illustration 3, reminds one of a typical inner-city neighborhood. The houses are rundown, and litter lines the streets. While residents of this area were a little bit better off financially than those in the black high-stress area (mean family income of those surveyed was $11,675 versus $10,513 for high-stress area blacks), they were less educated, with only 43 percent having a high school diploma. One out of four families in the area lived in an apartment house, and most of the husbands were blue-collar workers. One-third of the residents were originally from the South. These families also had more children than any of the other three groups, so what money they had had to be divided among more people.

The designated white low-stress area, seen in illustration 4, was comparable to the black low-stress neighborhood in terms of the quality of housing and the desirability of physical surroundings. Large trees, children playing in wide streets, and well-kept houses attest to the relative material comfort of people in this tract. White low-stress-area residents tended to be a bit older than others in the sample, and about 70 percent of husbands had white-collar jobs. Although family income of those surveyed was good, $12,132 in 1967, it was not much higher than that of people in the high-stress areas (although high-stress-area residents had more children on the average). But the physical environment of the white low-stress neighborhood was clearly superior. Most of the people living there had

Illustration 3. White High-Stress Area

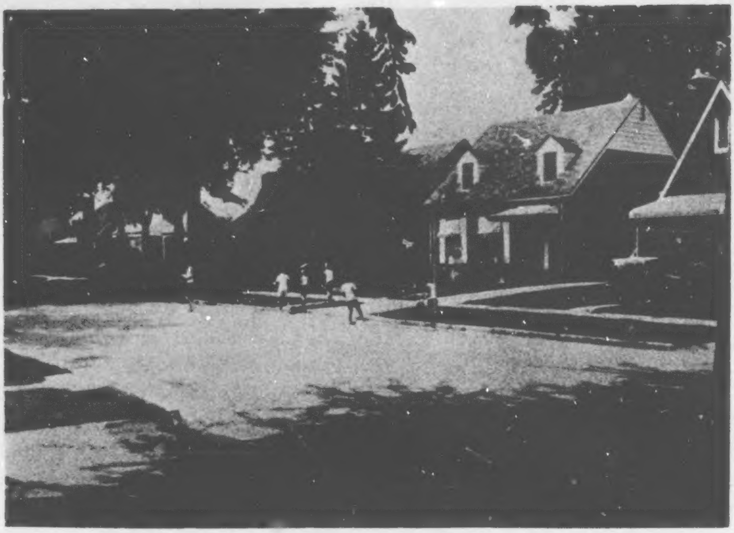

Illustration 4. White Low-Stress Area

been raised in Detroit and had lived in their present homes for about 10 years.

Hauenstein wanted to see if striking differences in environment could influence the health of the married women residing in the areas. If socioecology influenced mental or physical well-being, then its impact would be most clearly demonstrated through contrasting extremes. For example, a high-noise level might lead to more complaints of a nervous nature. Fear of crime might increase personal anxiety. Poor housing could, among other things, reduce a woman's enjoyment of her role as a homemaker. Difficulties in making ends meet could lead to many marital problems, such as money squabbles and even family breakups.

The married women were polled in their own homes by trained nurses who were of the same race. Interview questions covered such topics as personal medical histories, financial status, and education. But the questions of chief concern to Hauenstein were the ones about the women's attitudes toward and perceptions of themselves and their life situation.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

In her study, Hauenstein was primarily interested in finding out about the attitudes of women in the two defined economic roles toward their work and families. The purpose of the study was to investigate two related questions: (1) Do housewives differ from working wives in their attitudes toward work and family? (2) Are there social class or racial factors that are related to these attitudes?

Three main comparisons among the women were possible: (1) attitudes of housewives versus working wives; (2) attitudes of wives from high- versus low-stress neighborhoods; and (3) attitudes of black versus white wives. Comparisons between housewives and working wives in each of the four neighborhoods could also be made.

The findings for specific variables can be categorized further in terms of their (1) consistency; (2) the number of variables that were significantly different between groups in a comparison; and (3) the magnitude of differences between groups for any given variable. Consistency, as used by Hauenstein, implied the following: For comparisons of women in the two economic roles, a difference was said to be consistent if it was found to hold for women in each of the four neighborhoods. For comparisons of women from the two stress levels and of the two races, differences found were said to be consistent if they occurred both among housewives and working wives.

Data analysis indicated that housewife versus working-wife differences tended not to be consistent. That is, they were not shared equally by women in each of the four neighborhoods. Analysis of housewives versus working wives within each of the four neighborhoods yielded patterns that were peculiar to each area. By contrast, stress level and racial differences did tend to be consistent between women in the two economic roles. When the number of differences and their magnitude are considered, comparisons are least striking between women in the two economic roles and most striking between women of the two races.

The order of findings presented in the next section reflects these distinctions. Housewife versus working-wife differences will be examined for each of the four neighborhoods. Stress level and racial differences will be discussed more generally, and the reader will bear in mind that any differences found apply equally to women in the two economic roles.

Working women were asked questions about their attitudes as wage earners toward their jobs, money, security, and advancement. Some of these questions could not be applied to the housewives, who were asked parallel items about their enjoyment of housework, and so on. For example, one question for working wives was, "How often do you really enjoy the work you do on your job?" The analogous item for housewives was, "How often do you really enjoy the work you do in your home?" Besides separate questions for women in one or the other economic role, there were more questions to all women about economic matters; and all the women were asked the same questions about marriage, children, relations with family and friends, and mental health.

Housewives and Working Wives in the Four Neighborhoods

At the time of interview, only about 50 percent of the women in the sample of 508 were working outside the home, but this figure varied by neighborhood. For instance, 73 percent of black low-stress-area and 63 percent of black high-stress-area wives worked. In the white low- and high-stress neighborhoods, these figures were lower, at 29 and 35 percent respectively.

Most of the working wives held full-time jobs, but the type of work they did varied. For instance, over 25 percent of black low-stress-area working wives were classified as occupying professional and technical positions, such as accountants, nurses, librarians, social workers, and teachers. In the other three neighborhoods, very few working wives, black or white, fit into this category. On the average, for the whole sample, 29 percent of the working wives held clerical or office jobs, though this again differed according to neighborhood. For example, 49 percent of white low-stress-area working wives were secretaries or clerks, while only 15 percent of black high-stress-area wives were. Other common types of occupations for the women polled included shopworkers, cashiers, hairdressers, waitresses, cooks, and domestics. The black high-stress neighborhoods had the highest percentage of women engaged in service work, such as industrial and private-home cleaning. Few women held nontraditional occupations, such as plumber or baker, and very few were managers or proprietors of their own shops.

The earning power of black low-stress-area women was the highest in the sample, at around $6,600 a year, while the black high-stress-area women made around $4,700. White women of both stress levels didn't tend to make much more than black high-stress wives, but more of them held part-time jobs.

In discussing her economic-role findings, Hauenstein noted that even though there were some differences between housewives and working wives in the full sample, the differences usually failed to hold up for all the neighborhoods. Few transcended racial or social-class boundaries. Even within neighborhoods, housewives and working wives tended to be more similar than different.

For instance, in the black high-stress area, housewives were different from working wives only on a few variables. They had more children than working wives and more time to spend with them. They had less money and less optimism about meeting next year's bills. They were more likely to have diabetes. However, the black housewives were like their working counterparts in the assumed high-stress neighborhood on all other measures.

Housewives and working wives in the black low-stress neighborhood were also more alike than different. When differences emerged, they tended to favor the lot of the housewife. Housewives in the black low-stress area were likely to have more children and less likely to hold a college degree than the working wives. But unlike housewives in the other neighborhoods, their family income was almost equal to that of their employed counterparts. Housewives were more satisfied than working wives with how well they did in having enough money and more satisfied with the job they did in running the house. They thought that they were doing a better job at meeting the needs of their families than the working wives, who reported themselves as having less time to spend with their children and less

Table 2—Significant Housewife-Working Wife Differences Within the White High-Stress Neighborhood

Variable	Housewife-Working Wife Difference
Child and Family	
Good chance to spend time with children	28.3 %**
Good chance to teach children	21.1 %*
It is important to see to my family's needs	14.7 %*
Economic and Work-Related	
(Mean) yearly family income	−41.8 %***
I have done well at my work	−22.5 %*
It is important to get out of house for relaxation	19.0 %*
Housework is seldom a strain on me	20.0 %*
Husband-Related	
I have a good chance to spend time with my husband	27.3 %*
My husband very often shows appreciation	28.3 %**
It is important to spend time with husband	21.1 %
Good chance to have sexual life I would like	23.1 %*
Seldom disagree about sexual relations	24.8 %*
I have done well handling disagreements	23.7 %*
We seldom disagree about family finances	19.0 %*
It is important to help make the big decisions	17.8 %*
It is important that husband show appreciation	15.7 %*
We seldom get on each others nerves	20.2 %**
I have done well at being a good wife	25.4 %**

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*P <.05
**P <.01
***P <.001

opportunity to teach them how to do things or to increase their children's skills. But on other measures concerned with their attitudes toward their marriages and husbands, the women were identical.

It was in the *white high-stress neighborhood* that differences between housewives and working wives were most pronounced. Eighteen attitudinal differences were found, and of these, 11 were on items having to do with marital satisfaction. These are presented in table 2. More than any of the other groups, white high-stress-area working wives were unhappier about some aspects of their relationships with their spouses than their housewife counterparts.

In the white high-stress neighborhood, working women were more pleased with the job they did at work than were the housewives with the job they did running the home. However, the housewives were less likely to report that their domestic chores were often a strain on them. Like working women in the other neighborhoods, white high-stress-area wage earners were discontented with the insufficient time they had to spend with their children. But the big differences emerged in their self-reports of their marriages. Working wives had worse sex lives than stay-at-home women and were less likely to say that they had been "good wives" to their husbands or had been tactful about settling marital disputes. Working wives placed less importance on spending time with their mates and believed themselves to be relatively unappreciated by them. They had more disagreements about money and sex and, in general, found it more difficult to be around their husbands; they reported getting on each other's nerves.

Even so, white high-stress housewives and working wives did not differ on some other marital attitudes such as "would marry the same man" and "seldom wish had never married."

In the white low-stress neighborhood, housewives were little different from their working counterparts, except that more of them than working women were pleased with how well they had done as wives and mothers, and they reported less strain in their housework than the working wives did in their jobs.

Hauenstein notes that the working wives in all four neighborhoods seemed a bit less pleased with various aspects of their housework and with their family relationships than housewives. Surprisingly, their discontent had little effect on their perceived mental health. For the entire analysis of separate neighborhoods, there were only two significant health differences. More black high-stress-area housewives had diabetes, and more black low-stress-area housewives inhaled when they smoked. Generally, though, a woman's economic role had no impact either on the number of symptoms or on the personal-happiness level she reported. The strongest differences between housewives and working wives, regardless of race and hypothesized socioecological stress, were: (1) housewives' family income was smaller; (2) housewives had bigger families; and (3) housewives had a better chance to spend time with their children. Other differences—not so strong but consistently present in every neighborhood—were that more housewives than working wives said that they had a good chance to teach and control their children, and more housewives said that they were seldom bothered by their performance at housekeeping.

Interpretation of Findings

The absence of differences on many items is a puzzling one. Considering that less money was available to them, it is surprising that housewives felt as happy as working wives about their economic situation. On the other hand, although they enjoyed their housework and family life more than working women, housewives did not report fewer stress-related symptoms.

Hauenstein makes two points about the findings: Clearly, there were many more consistent similarities than differences between women in the two economic roles. Most differences that did emerge seemed to stem simply from the fact that housewives had more time at home than working wives. This would imply that there are no basic differences between working wives and housewives as far as their personalities or their general outlook on life are concerned.

On the other hand, some within-neighborhood differences may stem from more subtle sources. The fact that housewives in general had more time at home than working wives does not explain entirely why black low-stress-area homemakers felt more successful at having enough money and at meeting their families' needs. Perhaps, Hauenstein suggests, housewives in that neighborhood were able to practice economies that made family income go farther. The two groups did have equivalent incomes. That fact and the possibility that the nonemployed status of a wife might permit her to engage in moneysaving activities, such as sewing, canning, home cooking, and comparison shopping, could yield real differences in disposable income.

Hauenstein is even more intrigued by what appears to be going on in the white high-stress neighborhood. There is an indication that working wives there differ more fundamentally from housewives than do women in the other groups. Housewives' greater marital satisfaction compared to working wives was clear, although no good answers as to why it exists are available right now. Perhaps, she speculates, the working wives must combine a physically demanding and unrewarding job with the task of running a larger-than-average household. (White high-stress-area working wives had an average of 3.1 children, 2.4 of whom were living at home. Working wives in other neighborhoods had fewer children.)

Stress-Level Comparisons

The assumption of socioecological stress for different neighborhoods did not—contrary to expectations—translate itself into differences in mental health. Women from the assumed high- and low-stress areas experienced the same degree of general satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with their lives. While more high-stress-area than low-stress-area wives said that they weren't very happy, no more of them complained of anxiety, nervousness, ill health, or a host of other psychosomatic maladies.

When women from high-stress neighborhoods did report problems, their woes tended to stem from a lack of enough money to fulfill all their needs. They didn't find it easy to live on the family income, and few thought that they had a good chance to meet next year's bills. Women in high-stress areas placed more emphasis on getting ahead in life than their low-stress counterparts and were unhappier with their occupation, be it household or outside work. The housewives often reported feeling that they would rather be doing something else, and the working wives wanted to find different jobs. The high-stress-area women were less satisfied than low-stress-area women with the job they did around their homes, and they argued with their husbands more about excessive drinking.

Children occupied a more focal position in the lives of women from the high-stress areas, perhaps because they were a readily available source of reward and recipients of unfulfilled aspirations. Wives living there placed more importance on being appreciated by their offspring, and more felt that they were indeed appreciated by them.

Unlike housewife-working-wife differences, which tended *not* to hold up across neighborhood and race, the stress-level differences were consistently found for women in both economic roles.

Differences Between the Black and White Married Women

The comparison between women of the two races yielded more differences than any of the other analyses and most of the really strong (i.e., greater than 15 percentage points) ones. The race differences were found for women in both economic roles.

Black women, it seems, enjoyed greater mental health as measured by a number of items, than white women.

A cluster of differences that is among the most provocative and stimulating in the survey involves black-white mental health. Black women, it seems, enjoyed greater mental health, as measured by a number of items, than white women. For example, fewer black than white wives said that they suffered from premenstrual tension or insomnia. Fewer had taken medicine or had seen a doctor for nervousness. Black women smoked less than white women, but they had higher mean blood pressures. Hauenstein notes that, in study after study, blacks report fewer symptoms relating to mental illness, but it is not clear why this is so.

The interpretation of these differences in mental health between black and white women is complicated by other findings on economic attitudes and aspirations. While black women consistently reported suffering from fewer difficulties in coping with their lives, they were seen as more striving. More than white women they emphasized the importance of personal and financial advancement. They routinely endorsed more strongly the following statements: very important to get ahead in life; very important for husband to get ahead in his work; very important to be promoted at work; very important to have enough money; very important to have a better family income; very important to earn a higher wage. More of the black women had an optimistic view of their future financial situation (good chance for a better family income; good chance to earn a higher wage; there will be more need for people doing my kind of work), except that fewer said that they had a good chance to be able to pay next year's bills.

These findings run counter to some popular notions about mental health. One school of psychology claims that high aspirations toward material success should lead to the development of stress-related complaints. Striving people are thought to suffer more heart attacks, ulcers, and nervous symptoms. But at least in the case of black women in the Detroit sample, this is not so.

Sociologists have often been quick to point out that the degree of difference between what a person aspires to and what he or she actually has achieved is an index of alienation. Low achievement coupled with high expectations can lead to redoubled efforts or to hopelessness. Presumably, small discrepancies are easier for a person to handle and may indeed be good since they increase striving. Large discrepancies tend to frustrate and lead a person to give up. No discrepancy may be personally comfortable, or it may be a bit boring.

In the Detroit survey, there were a series of items asking the married women what they hoped to achieve personally and financially and how well they were actually doing at meeting these aspirations. Hauenstein didn't calculate difference scores for each person; however, as a group, black women of the two stress levels had consistently larger discrepancies between their hopes and their present circumstances than white women on many items concerning economics and marriage.

Differences between aspiration and realization tended to be greatest for black high-stress-area women (as might be expected because of their low-economic level), but the same discrepancy pattern emerged on several items for the black women in the much more comfortable financial circumstances. The married women of the two races did not differ significantly in what they objectively had achieved, but the black women placed more importance on economic goals. For instance, white high-stress-area women were not too pleased in general with how well they had done in getting ahead. In this, they were no different than black high-stress-area women. But the same percentage of the former group said that they had done well as said that they felt it was very important to do well. In the high-stress neighborhoods, many more blacks than whites said it was important to get ahead. Aspirations and feelings of present achievement matched up better for white than for black women.

Contrary to some expectations, however, higher material aspirations and larger discrepancies between what they wanted and what they had did not have a negative impact on the mental health indices of black women. If anything, their economic dissatisfactions went along with personal contentment.

Perhaps newly awakened black consciousness in 1967 (when the data were collected) might have led blacks to endorse more highly items concerned with social and material success. It might be argued that it was more socially desirable to express concerns with getting ahead. On the other hand, high aspirations also seem understandable in view of the historic position of blacks in the lowest social and economic strata of American society.

In keeping with their other aspirations, black women were also more interested either in getting or in changing jobs than white women. More placed stress in their marriages on having a good sex life, even in a pre-Masters and Johnson era; but marital arguments about money were more common. In their marital relations, black women seemed more critical and independent than white women, which may be understandable in light of their greater share in the family's economic survival. Of the four neighborhoods polled, wives in the black high-stress area seemed in some respects the least pleased with their spouses, but the black women in the low-stress neighborhood seemed to share a slightly less positive view of marriage.

On the other hand, the black women found more satisfaction in the maternal role than white women. More of them said that it was essential to spend time with their children, and more thought that they had done very well at being "good mothers" and at having their children's respect. A number of factors could account for these findings.

For instance, the black women's emphasis on the maternal role may reflect their view of their children as recipients of satisfactions that had been denied them, or it may reflect historical differences in black family life. Some authorities hold that black women have traditionally tended to be more stable family members than men and so have had a far greater responsibility for childrearing. Indeed, so important is the role of women in black society that sociologists have referred to it as a matriarchy. Among poor black young women today, motherhood still occupies a prime position as a means of achieving self-esteem.

The black family today is often described as retaining the last vestiges of an extended family structure. Relatives live close by, often in the same building or neighborhood, and are readily available to assist a family member in time of need. Black women in Hauenstein's sample tended to give support to the notion that the extended family is still viable in black American life. More so than white women, they said that it was very important for them to get along well with their parents, and less often they said that it was important to get along well with nonfamily members.

SUMMARY THOUGHTS

What emerges from Hauenstein's study is the finding that race yields the largest differences among married women and also the strongest differences of all the factors considered. The most outstanding black-white differences had to do with women's attitudes toward personal and financial advancement and occupational mobility. There were also many strong differences in general mental health and some large differences in attitudes toward marriage and children. Even so, black and white women did not differ significantly on many other measures, such as their general physical health, and attitudes toward housekeeping, family needs, and enjoyment of work.

There were fewer consistent differences between women from the assumed high- and low-stress neighborhoods, and far fewer of these were strong ones. As with the racial comparison, the main stress-level differences concerned economic attitudes.

There were few consistent differences between high- and low-stress-area women in mental or physical health, attitudes toward housework, enjoyment of work, or attitudes toward relatives and friends.

The housewife-working-wife comparison yielded by far the smallest number of consistent differences, and only one of these was more than 15 percentage points. There were two marginal differences in mental health, one difference about housework, and three about children.

Many of the differences that do emerge seem to have plausible explanations. Black and high-stress-area people may be more concerned about material advancement because they have been or still are in the lower socioeconomic strata. Working wives are more bothered by housework and have less time to spend with children, probably because they must spend more time out of the home.

Other aspects of the study raise questions that are more difficult to explain in terms of economics. Why do black women, given their historically low-status position in American society and given their high striving for success, report the best mental health? Why do striking contrasts in socioecological conditions not yield large differences in mental health? Have we been led astray in believing that adverse socioecological conditions are directly translated into higher rates of mental illness? Other sociological studies have related swings in general economic conditions to increases in mental illness. But in Hauenstein's study, there is relatively little suggestion that large differences on the socioecological dimension play such a role. Residents of the high-stress tracts were similar to low-stress-tract residents on measures of mental health.

This finding is especially perplexing since Kasl and Harburg (1975) have reported elsewhere that the residents of the high-stress areas studied by Hauenstein perceived significantly more stress in their environments than did residents of low-stress tracts. Despite this, the researchers found no relationship between perception of neighborhood and mental health or well-being. Blood pressure levels were also unrelated to the environmental perceptions. Kasl and Harburg qualify the results by pointing out that: (1) They are confined to married people rather than all residents of urban environments, and (2) the mental health measures included are relatively limited.

However, it is possible that the married women in high-stress tracts were in some way buffered against the potentially deleterious effects of their environment. They were living in more or less stable nuclear family arrangements which may indicate and/or contribute to greater perceived mental health and personal happiness. Also, the stress areas chosen were not as extreme as they could have been because there were very few married couples in the highest stress tracts to be found in Detroit. Therefore, while the comparison in the study was between married women residing in strikingly different physical and social surroundings, it may not have been one between people actually experiencing the most extreme contrasts possible in socioecological conditions.

Women are more similar than dissimilar regardless of their neighborhoods of residence, race, or economic roles.

It is intriguing to speculate why maternal employment apparently plays such a small part in wives' attitudes toward themselves and their lives. Outside work for the average woman emerges neither as a personal panacea, an automatic source of self-esteem and personal contentment, nor as a great strain on personal resources. However, working wives do report themselves as less satisfied with the quantity and quality of time they spend with their children. This finding seems incongruent with the popularly espoused notion that it is *quality* of time alone which will influence the nature of the mother-child relationship. Working wives also felt that they had less control over their children and less opportunity to instill in them the values they consider important. One wonders whether the working women may not be reflecting guilt relayed to them through the media and other sources which insinuate that outside work dilutes the mothering role.

Hauenstein allows that more economic-role differences may actually exist than were discovered in her study. She would like to compare women who work 40 or more hours a week with women who have part-time jobs, or who are housewives, and also to compare women who have young children with those whose children are in grade and high school. Finally she thinks it would be worthwhile to compare women who work in personally rewarding jobs with those who work in more mundane endeavors.

In spite of the differences that emerged, the biggest finding in the study is that of no differences on many measures. Women are more similar than dissimilar, regardless of their neighborhoods of residence, race, or economic roles. Moreover, the importance of such differentiating factors may be losing out to the influence of television, which brings into American homes nightly images of "typical" Americans which many people strive to model. The big city melting pot may have disappeared only to be supplanted by the media. Whatever the reasons, American women from different subcultures have in common many fundamental beliefs and attitudes. They share the same aspirations and problems. And that finding in a world where so many people erect barriers between themselves and others is worth the pondering.

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MARRIED MEN: WORK AND FAMILY

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INTRODUCTION

That women have moved massively into work roles is a well-noted social phenomenon of our time. The corresponding question of what men may be doing in their family roles has received far less attention and research. As women have moved into the work force, are men expanding their role in the family as husbands and fathers? As more women become breadwinners, are their spouses more threatened or more relieved? Are men turning more from work to family as a source of satisfaction? Are there ways to measure degrees and kinds of men's performance, psychological involvement, and satisfaction in these two roles? What might be the consequences for the future of these large-scale social changes taking place?

These are some of the questions that over the last decade have absorbed Joseph Pleck, now at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. His work as a pioneer in male-role research has been both analytic and empirical. That is, some of it has been devoted to analyzing existing findings, isolating and defining entities to be investigated, developing theoretical constructs for their interpretation and the hypotheses that pinpoint what needs to be known, and relating all this to a surrounding body of research. In a contrasting mode, his empirical studies have been devoted to applying this analytical work to developing research designs and instruments,

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using national survey data and the formidable and arcane statistical techniques now developed for analyzing these huge amounts of computer-processed information. Research findings from such studies are likely to be treated with great interest because of their enormous social significance and, hence, relevance to social policy. For the same reason they should also be treated with circumspection.

Surprisingly, for most categories of men, family is a greater source of both involvement and satisfaction for many more of them than is work.

Some of Pleck's work investigates the relative degrees of psychological involvement and satisfaction men derive from their two primary roles of work and family and explores the nature of this satisfaction. Surprisingly, for most categories of men, family is a greater source of both involvement and satisfaction for many more of them than is work. This finding does not appear to be a recent change or product of either the coming of the age of aquarius or women into the work force, even though it counters the traditional stereotype of men as work-oriented, women as family-oriented.

If the finding is so, a question provoked is why men's performance, the actual time they spend in the family role, is so minimal. Pleck has been one of the researchers contributing to the methodology for measuring this performance and in one of his most recent empirical studies has found that, contrary to previous time budget studies, men with working wives are beginning to show significantly more time spent in the family role than men with nonworking wives.

If this finding holds, it may auger an important redistribution of men's actual performance time between work and family, matching their longstanding psychological involvement and satisfaction with it. It would be the complement of the increasing time women are now giving to work and, in this respect, might herald a fundamental change in our cultural norms, replacing or adding to the older stereotype of men/

work, women/family with one which accords to each person the two roles of work and family.

Pleck speculates about *why* men should feel the family breadwinner role so involving and satisfying. Various hypotheses have been that the family provides an arena for men's power drive and need to dominate, or that the descending order of husband, wife, children satisfies a common need for hierarchy and social order. Pleck hypothesizes that a crucial source for this feeling, provided by our tradition, social structures, and expectations, is the pride and sense of identity men derive from being a breadwinner and good provider, over decades of a lifetime and over sometimes overwhelming odds and disappointments and dissatisfactions with work. This responsibility and capacity, and the sense that it is expected of them, gives weight and dignity to their family role. This speculation would be consistent with the apparent anomaly of high psychological involvement and very low actual time spent with the family.

If this hypothesis is valid, then we must wonder what will happen as wives begin to meet or exceed the husbands' capacity to be primary breadwinner in their work, what the reactions may be, what modifications may be required of men in their role, sense of identity, and feelings of self-worth. We must wonder whether and how they will experience, as many women are already, the sometimes chaotic and bewildering feelings, abrading demands, and aggravations that social psychologists categorize as signs of role conflict. Pleck has now turned to explore these conflicts in both men and women.

To see how these conclusions have come about and to gain a sense of their validity and significance, let us look at the setting where they occurred, at recent developments in the psychology of sex roles, and at the development of Pleck's thought and research over the past 10 years; then from this context, at his specific studies of men's family role; then, for those who are concerned, at some interesting methodological issues raised by the research; and finally, at what the next steps appear to be for research, policy, and our own lives.

A special and express note should be made of a convenient but misleading use of terminology. Throughout, "work role" refers to a paid job or outside employment by man or woman, while "family role" refers to house chores and child care or attention by husband, wife, or single parent. That the latter role is work, too, is apparent and every parent will verify.

THE CONTEXT

People's behavior and the arguments given to defend or castigate examples of it are often drawn from psychologists' theories and assumptions. Thus, these theories and assumptions have often without people's awareness shaped their ideas of definitions and limits of sex roles. In this way, psychologists have sometimes influenced the course of social history. Because of this influence, it is important to notice how psychologists' views of sex roles have changed. In an early paper Pleck mapped a traditional view of the psychology of sex roles that until recently dominated American psychology, reviewed some new research that has, in his view, established a new psychology of sex roles, and traced the implications for change in women's and men's social roles and relationships (1977).

Here, the term "sex roles" does not refer to the specifically sexual behavior of men and women but to the *personality traits* and *adult social responsibilities* ascribed to them. Thus, for example, personality traits of the male role conventionally, until recently, prescribed that men be active, aggressive, and competitive; of the female role that women be nurturant, warm, and altruistic. Adult social responsibilities of the male role prescribed breadwinning and sexually distinct types of home chores; of the female role, childcare and housework at home and low-pay, low-prestige jobs at work.

Pleck identified five propositions assumed by the traditional psychology of sex roles:

- Women and men differ substantially on a wide variety of personality traits, attitudes, and interests.
- These differences, to a large degree, are biologically based.
- A major part of these psychological differences between the sexes results from an hypothesized psychological process called "sex identity development," differently defined by several competing theories, that goes beyond the given biological base.

- Developing sex identity is risky, particularly for males, and failure to develop through the appropriate steps of an hypothesized developmental process can result in profound difficulties in personality and life adjustment, including homosexuality.
- Psychological differences between the sexes, and the need for a normal sex identity simultaneously account for and justify the traditional division by sex of work and family responsibilities.

To the traditional psychologist, the premise that sex roles are partly learned does not mean that society is free to change what it teaches or that people have latitude in adopting their sex roles. That social learning is required for full, normal, sexual identity only puts each of us at greater risk for developing the *right* sex-role traits, because so much more can go wrong through mislearning. In this view, changes in sex roles are undesirable because women and men psychologically *need* to be different, and sex-role alterations will not only fail but lead to social disaster.

According to one analysis of scientific development, a given field is often dominated by a reigning model or "paradigm" which can successfully account for and interpret generated research. But gradually new research accumulates results which the model cannot account for, and a radically new paradigm emerges (Kuhn 1962).

Such unassimilable results have begun to accumulate (Pleck 1977). At the same time, three bodies of research are forming the nucleus of a new psychology of sex roles. First, Pleck cites the extensive research review of Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin (1974), finding *no* average differences between the sexes, despite commonly held beliefs that women are less analytical, have lower motivation to achieve and lower self-esteem, and are more suggestible, socially oriented, and nurturant. Average differences by sex *were* confirmed by men's greater physical aggression and by women's greater verbal ability but less ability at visual-spatial and mathematical tasks. These average differences by sex, and the larger context of much greater psychological similarity, are not sufficient to account for the vast difference in sex roles. Second, the research of John Money (Money and Ehrhardt 1972) on gender identity indicates that, except for a fractional minority, gender identity is irreversibly established very much earlier in life, around the age of 3, than the hypothesized risky developmental process of the traditional view allows. Lastly, research of Sandra Bem and her colleagues (1974, 1975) supports the view that having only traits considered masculine or feminine has more psychologically negative effects than having an androgynous mix. For example, males and females classified as androgynous did well at tasks requiring resisting group pressure (masculine) and also at tasks requiring nurturance and emotional sensitivity (feminine). Males classified as masculine did well on the first but not the second tests. Females classified as feminine did not do well on the first and with some variation did not do well on the second either. Perhaps, Bem suggested, these results came about because the tasks required taking initiative in ambiguous circumstances, which "feminine" dependence does not encourage. Thus, the traditional sex stereotypes may be psychologically handicapping for both sexes. Such findings undercut the social justification for, and bring into question the profound differences and inequities in, the social roles that women and men play in paid employment and the family. But these social roles are held in place by the prescriptive power of the social structures and expectations that mold us all, by fear of the unknown or of the stresses and conflicts of social change.

Growing uneasiness with the reigning psychology of sex-role paradigm, or at least the diminished power of its sanction, may have been a factor in the Second Coming of the women's movement during the late sixties and early seventies that triggered widespread militancy, consciousness raising, and political activism. One result of this ferment was the kindling in Joseph Pleck—with a fresh *magna cum laude* from Harvard in social relations, earned during those incited years and, subsequently, doctorate in clinical psychology—of an interest in the nature and significance of the male sex role. The feminist movement and speculation about the limits of women's sex roles opened the way to ask whether men, too, might not be imprisoned in *their* traditional sex roles. Speculation through the late sixties and early seventies continued until by fall 1974, four major books had emerged (Farrell 1975; Fasteau 1974; Kaye 1974; Pleck and Sawyer 1974). These precipitated growing interest, activism, conferences, research, publications, and, recently, journal attention of an entire issue on the topic (Pleck and Brannon 1978).

Over these years of immersion, Pleck's attention in male research became less psychologically or personality oriented as his sense of the importance of social roles in determining behavior increased. The main social roles determined by people's sex are in work and the family. While "sex roles" can be conceived in different ways—to refer, for example, to adolescent dating relationships or, often, to refer to personality traits more typical of one sex or the other—for Pleck the term denotes the two social sets of behaviors, responsibilities, and expectations concerning work and family, for women and men. These assumed social roles, very much part of people's psychology, evidence themselves in social interactions of, for example, the male's traditional family role, the Breadwinner, who is responsible for working at a job, who is expected to use earnings from it to support the family, and whose behavior, hence, involves little time spent at home.

There are at least three commonly used explanations, not mutually exclusive, for why men in adult life have the sex roles that they do. One of them is that men are "naturally" disposed to be the ones who go out into the world to hunt or forage and bring home the food, either through some still undetermined genetic endowment or the cumulative acculturation of several million years in the primate channel. A second explanation, currently receiving emphasis, is that men from early childhood are socialized to fill these adult roles through reinforcement and social learning of those personality traits that enable them as adults to fulfill their sex roles of work and family. A third explanation accounts for sex roles in terms of the structural factors of adult life—such as institutions and embedded social habits. But Pleck no longer believes the second explanation adequate to account for the simple and comparatively invariant stability of sex roles when contrasted with the wide variation in men's personality traits. He believes the third explanation accounts much more strongly for our sex-role behavior than the other explanations and that probably the most significant structural factor is economic. Work for pay provides economic independence, from which other discretional choices flow; not working for pay provides economic dependence.

In one sense, this third explanation appears as a variant of the Marxist doctrine that the manner of *economic* exchange is the basic explanatory principle and that society is the superstructure derived from this base. But if so Pleck's analysis is in another sense post-Marxist or beyond Marx in two significant respects. First, it identifies the *family* and not the individual as the basic economic unit of analysis and, second, it explains the disproportion and inequities of male and female social role as primarily attributable to men's sex role as economic breadwinner. But the other side of the same coin is Pleck's proposal that it is as breadwinner for the family that men have traditionally fulfilled their sex role, regardless of whether they enjoyed either work or family. That is, they have accepted as a criterion of their manhood the requirement to support a family economically by working. In this view, the male's customary dominance in the traditional family is not explained primarily by genetic, psychological, or socialization factors, though all may contribute, but most centrally by his breadwinning role. The family is controlled not by the male but by his job. From the man's view, his obligation is to the family contract. In that contract, the husband supports the family through his paid work, in return for which the wife takes care of him and their children. In so doing, he proves to himself, his family, and the world that he is a man. In this analysis, a man is a more beleaguered fellow than the strutting peacock, restless hunter, chinashop bull, king in his castle, insatiable powermonger, or roving Don Juan projected by other analyses. He may be one or several of these but is also well aware of *what is expected of him that he ought to be* and that is holding up his end of an economic bargain. That is mainly why most men mostly still do. Pleck believes we need to analyze these existing attitudes to predict what the impact of current changes will be.

This analysis suggests we look to the consequences of various social changes on this traditional contract. For the basic unit of economic transaction, the family, has been changing. From a number of data, these are indicative: in families that have both a husband and wife, only 31 percent have only a husband breadwinner; 47 percent have two breadwinners, both husband and wife (Hagghe 1977). If men's two traditional sex roles of work and family are related in a fundamental way by an implicit contract of economic exchange of work done to show ability to support a family, what happens to men if and when performance and wages or salary in these roles is equalled or exceeded by their wives and women colleagues at work? We do not know how widespread the condition might become or how profound the consequences may be. Neither do we know the consequences of the newer dictum: Let both sexes fill both roles in terms of role conflict, strain, overload, psychological change, or cultural dislocation. We do know remarkably large changes are taking place.

The social scientist's task in this welter of change is to tease from it features of social organization there to be captured. To do so requires a process of developing useful new concepts and ways to operationalize or quantify them. These provide a handle or way to shape phenomena and trace what effects they have. In the research literature of work and family life, as well as in the growing literature on the effects of unemployment, the phenomena of men's family and work sex roles, of their relation to each other, possible conflict, and relation of both to female roles, have gone almost unremarked, though change is under way (Nye 1976). Pleck believes they can be central concepts for understanding the changes taking place. For example, he has analysed into parts and devised measures for three concepts that are aspects of family and work roles. The first is amount of *performance*, how much time is actually spent in the role; the second is level of *psychological involvement* in the role; the third is the degree of *adjustment* or *satisfaction* found in the role. In effect, the idea of sex roles provides us with a new cognitive category for understanding a piece of social reality; the three concepts and measures provide ways to isolate and test it, to see if it fits the phenomena and helps explain them. Let us look at Pleck's research on men's sex roles.

THE WORK-FAMILY ROLE SYSTEM

The study of work and the study of family have until recently been separate subdisciplines in sociology, whereas they ought to be considered jointly to show how the function of each role affects the other. Similarly, traditional sex-role norms prescribed work and family responsibilities by sex, but new options for each sex to integrate roles in both work and family are emerging. Thus, a simple conceptual rubric lays out the links between male work role and female work role in both the work place and in marriage, the links between male work role and male family role, between female work role and female family role, and the links between male family role and female family role, and thus helps organize research about the relations among these roles. Pleck (1977) calls this rubric *the work-family role system*. The system can be used at the level of individual families or in the aggregate. Let us look at the male family role links in this system: the female and male family role link and the male family and work role link. Two interesting features of the link between female and male family roles are, first, that family tasks are segregated by sex (Blood and Wolfe 1960; Duncan et al. 1974) and that wives' support for the traditional division of labor by sex remains strong (Robinson et al. 1976). Second, although, as we shall see, method differences introduce discrepancies in data, it appears that, at least until recently, men's family role time was not much more if their wives worked than if they didn't. That is, husbands contributed about the same time to family tasks (about 1.6 hours per day) whether their wives worked (with an average 4.8 hours of family work per day) or not (with an average 8.0 hours of family work per day) according to one study (Walker 1970) and corroborated by others.

Interesting features of the link between male family and work roles are first that, although men's family time goes down as work time goes up and vice versa, men's family time baseline (about 1.6 hours per day) is very low: one-third that of working wives. The ceiling is imposed not by work-role demands, since these demands are roughly the same for working wives and for husbands, but by the traditional division of family labor by sex. Second, if this is so, then, as long as wives' and husbands' support for this traditional division by sex remains strong, decreased work-role demands for men are not likely to increase their family role time so much as increase what they give to overtime, two jobs, or leisure. Third, an advantage of using the work-family system is that it shows up defects of comparability in data due to our own culture blindness. For example, Pleck cites economic literature in which wives are asked how they allocate their time among paid market work, housework and childcare, and leisure; but husbands are asked only how they allocate their time between paid market work and leisure. So men's actual participation in family role is analytically invisible. The lesson that can be generalized from this finding is that men's family-role research questions are not yet correctly and sharply focused enough to provide the answers we need.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: PERFORMANCE

Pleck analyzes men's family role in terms of three concepts: performance, or actual time spent in the role, level of psychological involvement, and degree of satisfaction in or adjustment to the role. These three are not the only concepts to reflect aspects of men's family role, and among other concepts that have had research attention are husbands' decisionmaking power, husbands' companionship or emotional roles, and fatherhood and the father-child relationship. But focusing on the first of these, performance, is a good way to become aware of the spadework that goes into breaking new ground, in analyzing a concept and developing measures for it.

Regarding performance, Pleck (1976) asks three deceptively simple questions: first, what is the extent of men's family-role performance? Second, why is it so limited? Third, what are the consequences of this currently limited role? Until recently, the extent of men's family-role performance was measured by a variety of family division-of-labor questions that yielded comparative scores of each family member's contribution to a task but which were hard to translate into units of work that were additive, easily understood, and that had concrete meaning in absolute terms. "Time budget" methodology has made possible a simpler approach that asks respondents to record an itemized day's activity in "diaries" that are then coded, weighted, and averaged in an easily understood unit of measurement, time. From several large-scale studies of time use, Pleck's focus is one that draws on a national sample of 1,244 adults in 44 metropolitan areas and 788 residents of Jackson, Michigan, in 1965-66 (Robinson 1977).

In this study, men's total family work averages 96 minutes per day or 11.2 hours per week. For comparison, the total family work of housewives is 53.2 hours per week, and for working women, 28.1 hours per week. With the exception of marketing, men's work tends to be concentrated in irregularly performed housework and travel related to shopping and child care. Men's direct child care, for those who have children, is small, about 12 minutes a day, and its largest component is playing with children. Men spend more time in child contact (any activity where their children are present, including watching TV), ranging from two to four hours a day. It is not known how much of this time frees the wife to be out of the house. There is lack of consensus about variations in men's family work by class, race, age, and family life-cycle stage, and the general averages may mask differences for each of these factors. But for a fifth factor, whether the wife works or not, these time-budget data show men spend about the same amount of family time, a finding contrary to earlier analyses based on comparative division-of-labor measures indicating more family time spent by men with wives who worked (Blood and Wolfe 1960). For those interested, the difficulty with these measures is discussed later in a section on methodology. Until recently, the finding was also corroborated by other large-scale time-budget studies that did not use comparative or proportional measures (Walker and Woods 1976; Meissner et al. 1975).

However, in a recent study of Pleck and Lang's using 1977 data (1978), there is a small but significant *increase* in family time by men with working wives, perhaps signalling the beginning of a change. In this study based on data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey, husbands of working wives spend more time in the family role than husbands of nonworking wives—about 1.8 more hours per week in housework and 2.7 more hours per week in child care (Pleck and Lang 1978a). Though these increments are small, they should not be dismissed. They may indicate that husbands in the late 1970's are beginning to compensate for their wives' outside work by increasing their (the husbands') own family work.

Why is Men's Family Role so Limited?

Ninety-six minutes a day, or about 11.2 hours per week, is not a great deal of time for men to spend in their family role, along with an assumed 40 hours in their work role, particularly contrasted with working women's 28.1 hours per week, along with an assumed 40 hours in the work role, and housewives' 53.2 hours per week. Three kinds of explanations that have been offered are that males' *biological heritage or "program-*

ming" does not dispose them to child care, that their *work roles* interfere, or that *sex-role ideology* limits them.

Pleck reviews several kinds of data in studies relevant to the biological-incapacity hypothesis: evidence of fathering in other animal species, the role of sex hormones in nurturance towards the young, and human fathers' response to newborns. He concludes that there is considerable diversity within the primates in the role of males in child-rearing, that parental behavior does develop in males simply with exposure to newborns, and that in controlled situations human fathers feel and act towards their infants in ways hard to distinguish from the ways of mothers. Thus, in general, it is more plausible to say that men's low child care occurs *despite* men's innate capacity to nurture infants and not because of some biological incapacity.

A second explanation, that men's work role limits men's family time, has been tested in several different formulations. One is that, by fulfilling his work role, a husband believes his breadwinning responsibility is carried out and he is thus relieved of any other family role. This formulation does not explain the data showing that the husband with a working wife does not apply the same belief to her. A second formulation is that the demands of men's work role limit the family time they should or would like to give. The kinds of evidence for these demands reviewed by Pleck are varied, and although they do reduce men's family work, Pleck then reviews the studies that suggest reasons why these demands don't adequately account for men's limited family role. These studies suggest that, when work demands are reduced, men do not increase family time very much, as contrasted with leisure time. Often when opportunities to reduce the work role are offered, men do not take advantage of them. Working women do find the time to spend with family. When men have lower hours in paid work, their family work does not increase proportionately. From this review, Pleck concludes that men's low baseline and low elasticity of family performance time must be accounted for by other, ideological factors.

Pleck's review of recent national and other large-scale survey data on men's family work provides somewhat surprising and anomalous conclusions (e.g. Mason and Bumpass 1975; Yankelovich 1974; Harris 1971). Only a minority, 10 to 35 percent, depending on the exact comparison made, of the population believe that, in general, men should do more housework and child care than they are now doing. Only 35 percent of wives reporting *no* help from their husbands want more help. Only half of a recent male sample supported equal housework and child care if the wife worked. There is no consensus that men should increase their family work. Second, these attitudes seem to be changing very slowly. Comparisons between 1965 and 1973 show only marginal change (Robinson 1976). Third, national survey data suggest women are either equal to or more reluctant than men to have men's family-role time increase. Why is not clear and needs research. Perhaps women have a psychological investment in a monopoly on the family role. Perhaps this parallels an analysis of attitudes that support a limited breadwinner role for women (Mason and Bumpass 1970). Among aspects that need investigation, Pleck suggests:

> For example, many may believe that children are psychologically harmed if there is not a clear parental division of labor, specifically, if they see their fathers do housework; that it is psychologically harmful for children to experience too close a relationship with their fathers, because it will compete with their relationship with their mothers; that men are more fulfilled in, or psychologically suited for work than family roles; that it is demeaning or psychologically harmful to men to expect them to perform traditionally female family work, or that men's interest in such work is indicative of psychological maladjustment. There are many other attitudes which potentially support men's presently limited family role which can be explored as well. Future research will have to examine this cluster of attitudes, their interrelationships, and their sources and consequences. (p.58 Pleck 1976)

Consequences of Men's Limited Family Role

Evidence that men's limited family role has good or ill effects on children is considerable but unclear. Much of the literature takes the point of view that fathers' low involvement with their children may cause them, especially sons, psychological problems. Pleck suggests that this assumption should not be made, that more time and higher involvement might increase the problems—for example, if it led to more traditional sex-typing in children just as the desirability of this sex-typing is being brought into question by recent research such as Bem's, cited earlier. Further, support for higher involvement is often based on research into effects of father *absence*, particularly regarding sex-role identity, school performance, and delinquency. But ill effects of absence do not logically entail good effects from presence; in addition, well-controlled empirical studies have had weak results, perhaps because even when fathers are technically present they may be functionally absent in the American family. Pleck suspects that variation in fathers' family work may have fewer consequences than we might expect, just as other research suggests maternal employment of itself does not appear to affect children negatively (Hoffman 1974). In each case, factors related to the quality of parental attention would more likely be decisive.

Evidence that men's limited family role has good or ill effects on wives is sparce and still less clear. Pleck cites several recent studies with anomalous findings. One analysis suggests that contemporary marriage appears to have negative effects on women but positive effects on men (Bernard 1971). Yet Radloff found that, although working wives total more work hours than husbands, they have lower rates of depression than nonworking wives (1975); and among employed wives there was no relationship between depression and housework. Further research is needed before anything can be said with confidence about the effect on wives of men's limited family role. Finally, virtually no research exists on the effect of this limited role on men themselves.

We have seen that men's family-role contribution in time is small compared both to their work role and to working women's. However, Pleck and Lang's recent study of 1977 data shows what may be a modest increase in time by husbands of working wives, compared with those with nonworking wives, which may auger a long-term larger increase (1978a). Still, men's actual performance time in their family role is only part of the story and an insufficient measure of the significance of this role for them.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: PSYCHOLOGICAL INVOLVEMENT

A popular and durable belief about men's family role has been that, while women may be devoted to their families, men's primary psychological involvement is with their work. In the recent study by Pleck and a colleague, Linda Lang, of the University of Massachusetts, this hoary belief is challenged (1978). The empirical part of their study is based on data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey, using a sample of 757 husbands and 270 wives, over 16, currently living with their spouses and working over 20 hours per week. It indicates that men's psychological involvement with marriage and family is greater than with their work. Moreover, an accompanying review of the literature indicates that not only does this circumstance prevail in the latter 70s but also that it has been the case for as long as statistical surveys have gathered data on the topic.

Pleck and Lang examine three aspects of men's family role: performance, level of psychological involvement, and degree of adjustment. *Psychological involvement* measures how important or significant participation in the family role is for a person. *Adjustment* refers to the degree of overall satisfaction and happiness a person reports deriving from the role. In addition, Pleck and Lang use Campbell's index of *well-being*, which refers to individuals' overall evaluations of the quality of their lives (1976). Then they measure the relative impact of performance, involvement, and adjustment on overall well-being, comparing men's family and work roles, and these two to women's family and work roles. Men report family experience makes a greater contribution than work experience to their overall well-being. Let us now look at this study in more detail.

The study cites a number of investigations and among them both Rosenberg's (1957) and Adamek and Goudy's (1966) findings from college samples that, although less so for males than females, *many more males expected their greatest life satisfaction to come from family relationships than from work* (62 percent vs. 25 percent in Rosenberg, 1957; 70 percent vs. 22 percent in Adamek and Goudy, 1966). Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) report that the proportions rating a happy marriage, a good family life, and an interesting job as "extremely important" were, respectively, 74, 67, and 38 percent in the 1971 Quality of Life Survey.

In Pleck and Lang's own survey sample, psychological involvement was measured by response to four questions: (1) How often they thought about spouse and children while doing other things: 65 percent said "often," compared with 32 percent who said "often" of their work. (2) Ninety-four percent said the most important things that happened to them were in their marriage and family life, compared with 55 percent who made the equivalent statement about their jobs. (3) Fifty-one percent said that, with fewer work hours, they would spend the extra time with family or equally between family and leisure. (4) A near majority would not redistribute work and family time; of those who would, many more would spend more time with family than work, even with loss of income.

These findings collectively indicate that men's family role is far more psychologically significant to them than their work role and by a margin only somewhat less significant than it is for women. The suggestion that men's family-preference response may be merely conventional rhetoric obscuring a limited involvement shown in small performance time does not appear warranted. Men's high psychological involvement with family is buttressed not only by a number of studies dating from Rosenberg's in 1957 but independently by the last part of Pleck and Lang's study, which measures the relative contribution of these roles to overall well-being. But this conclusion is not well-known or even accepted. The popular stereotype of the work-oriented man is more universally assumed. Some men do fit this stereotype, but they appear to be only a small minority of highly educated, probably professional males.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment refers to the degree of satisfaction and happiness individuals report they derive from their family role. Unlike psychological involvement, the adjustment measure reflects men's feeling about their actual living in the family role. Here again, the findings reinforce men's high psychological involvement in their family role. Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) found that both sexes rated marriage and the family more satisfying than work. In a sample of female British university graduates ten years later, 59 percent of husbands listed family relationships as giving the most life satisfaction, compared with 28 percent listing career or occupation (Bailyn 1970). In a follow-up study of gifted students, men rated family satisfaction higher than five other areas inquired about, job satisfaction third (Sears 1977).

These findings were corroborated in the empirical part of Pleck and Lang's study. Using three measures for adjustment, Pleck and Lang asked respondents to report the degree of their marital happiness, marital satisfaction, and family-life satisfaction, and the latter two were compared to work satisfaction. About 3 percent reported marriage less satisfying than work, 52 percent marriage and work equal, and 45 percent marriage more satisfying than work. About 4 percent reported family less satisfying than work, 53 percent family and work equal, and 43 percent family more satisfying than work. Thus, again contrary to popular stereotype, far more men find more satisfaction in marriage and family than in work, though a majority report equal satisfaction in both roles.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: IMPACT ON OVERALL WELL-BEING

Finally, when Pleck and Lang reviewed the literature on the relative contribution of marriage, family, and work to an overall sense of well-being, family and marriage turned out to be highly and nearly equally significant, while work was somewhat less so (Andrews and Withey 1976; Campbell et al. 1976). But one other study which contradicts these results analyzes the relative contribution of family and work to life happiness (well-being) by *life cycle stage* (Harry 1976). In three of the five life cycle groups of husbands in this study (preschool children, school age children, adult children), work satisfaction had the stronger association to life happiness.

In the empirical or survey part of the study, Pleck and Lang used the Campbell well-being index as questionnaire items about overall life happiness and satisfaction. Controlling for education, family life-cycle stage, and spouse employment status, they concluded that family variables have stronger impact than work on well-being and account for about 23 percent of the variance in well-being for all husbands. In relative terms, for men the effect for family is about 1.5 times greater than work.

Cumulatively, the evidence is quite strong that most men on all these measures invest far more in their family role than has been credited. This investment appears of long standing and not attributable to, for example, the "new morality" of the 60s or accounted for as fallout from the women's liberation movement. On the contrary, evidence suggests that men of the educated middle income class, where the activist movements of the 60s had their largest flowering, are a group likelier than others to be more work-oriented. Instead, as we have seen, family role involvement, adjustment, and contribution to well-being is a deeply embedded male preference across the range of men.

METHODOLOGY

Research progress and the quality of findings often wait on the development of methods or instruments sufficiently focused and precise to capture data that are otherwise vague or elusive. Sometimes improvements in method show that older methods structured data in misleading ways, a reminder that methods inevitably condition findings. Often research design calls for sophistication in selecting among methods for different tradeoffs, depending on the research purpose. Occasionally the challenge is to develop from scratch a method to capture a phenomenon heretofore unnoticed. Pleck's work can be used to illustrate each of these situations.

One methodology to note is that developed by Pleck in response to the need for finding ways to measure aspects of men's family role, itself until recently an undeveloped concept. An existing body of marriage research had already studied marital adjustment, power and decisionmaking, and division of labor, but Pleck has specified three aspects he believes significantly define family role: performance, psychological involvement, and adjustment (or satisfaction)—aspects also applicable to both men and women in work roles as well. He has developed operational ways to isolate and test for them. Thus, the three aspects can be studied across these categories and, though the aspects are themselves invisible, their effects can be measured. It is not too farfetched to think of these aspects as analogous to bioassays that must be invented in order to locate and measure within the body levels of a chemical substance hypothesized to exist there. So do these aspects, made operational, seek to capture statistical traces in our social behavior of psychosocial entities revealed through responses to survey questionnaires.

Determining men's actual performance in the family role calls for methods that define and quantify that performance. Two generic methods have been used that provide a second example of methodology for determining family performance. One is proportional or relative and asks the respondent to record the comparative division of family labor for specified tasks, thus providing a basis for comparing subgroups of husbands with each other. But the results cannot be translated in absolute terms into units of work to show time spent in each task and totals, which could then be compared across studies. Further, a seriously misleading defect of this proportional method is that a spurious increase in husbands' family time will appear as an artifact if wives' family time decreases, as it does for working wives. Thus, a number of studies based on this method produced a finding of increased husband family time when wives went to work, whereas husband's time was actually staying the same; their *relative* share of family work was simply increasing by definition.

To overcome this defect, there have been developed in recent years "time budget" methods where respondents record in "diaries" everything they have done through a particular day. This approach yields an absolute measure in units of time that can more easily be aggregated by components, coded, and compared across studies. It was on several large-scale studies of time use, using this method, that Pleck based the conclusion that husbands of working wives did *not* until recently contribute more family time than men with nonworking wives. And it was using a variant of this method that Pleck and Lang in their study of 1977 Quality of Employment data concluded that there was now, at last, a small but significant increase in family time of husbands with working wives.

Time-budget methods for family-role research have only recently seen widespread use and development, stimulated by an appreciation of their value in economics. Time-and-motion studies of work during the 20's gave rise briefly to similar studies in the home, but these studies were in the research area of home economics, a research ghetto of low prestige and interest peopled mostly by women until recently.

Time-budget studies present their own drawbacks and choices. Any meticulous recording in minutes of the previous day's activities inevitably has in it a considerable amount of "noise," time spent unique to that day and not indicative of typical or average time in each activity. Diaries that take account of this peculiarity and ask for many days' records, which can then be averaged, become prohibitively expensive.

An alternative developed by Pleck is a summary time-estimate measure, quick, easy, cheap, whereby the respondent simply estimates average time for different activities. Its cheapness and simplicity make it widely usable, but it is vulnerable to inflated self-estimates. On the other hand, if the research purpose is not establishing time incidence so much as *correlations*—for example, between work and family time, men and women, housewives and working women, and the like—time estimates might still be the more accurate method, since self-estimates will be similarly inflated.

A third methodology worth mention is the cluster of techniques that has grown around analyses of massive amounts of data derived from national and other large-scale surveys. Availability of such huge data sets, the computer hardware to record and manipulate them, and the theory and mathematical techniques to design for such quantity are changing the nature of much psychosocial research. The N, or total universe of respondents, for a typical study design of two decades ago on this topic might be 20 college sophomores randomly sampled from the registrar's list; the N today might be 2,000 from a national survey. However, the tradeoffs should be examined carefully: High Ns may make subcategories more usable and conclusions more generalizable, but 20 college sophomores can still provide enlightening, rich, and fertile detail. Often high Ns and high detail can be complementary strategies.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Most recently Pleck in another empirical study has gone one step further to investigate the kinds and degrees of role conflict or interference between work and family life that occur among men, working wives, and single parents who work (1978b). This step is into uncharted territory, so much so that there does not yet exist in our language a generic term for the fundamental unit of his analysis: the marital or parent-child units that include at least one paid worker. Pleck calls this unit the "worker family"; within each of these will be at least one person with the two roles of work and family. It is a self-sustaining unit. It may be all male, all female, or mixed. It is a unit in terms of which social analysis about work-family relationship may be undertaken and social policy projected, particularly as more and more people undertake both roles. For example, what kinds of role conflict occur—excessive work time, incompatible scheduling, physical or psychological spillover from work—determine whether less overtime, flexitime, or reduced work strain become objectives.

The specific costs and benefits of a deliberate two-role life are not yet all that clear. Politically, the women's liberation movement has generally regarded work, at equal pay for equal merit, as a source of independence and selfrealization for women. There may be negative consequences from double-role demands that would put qualifications to this belief. Increased stress, already a putative factor in shortening men's lives, may be a high cost of double-role living. The alleged alienating and dehumanizing effect of industrial and post-industrial work may be another. It may turn out that, whereas the old psychology of sex assumed women for the children's and husband's sake should not work, new research may suggest they should not for their own sakes. On the other hand, both men and women may over time find two-role living a way to provide continuity, balance, and variety in their lives.

Pleck identifies three issues that social changes taking place may bring to a head. One finding has been that the attitudes of both women and men are still traditional in *not* wanting men to take a greater family role. If this attitude should change, then the crucial constraints on men's increasing their low performance in the family role would be demands of the work role. Expanding the male family role without accomodating changes in the work role will lead to role strains similar to those now faced by working wives. Currently, husbands wanting to share household and childcare responsibilities face penalities in the competition for job advancement, and there are few practices that legitimize such a shift in emphasis.

If women begin to equal or exceed men in income and advancement in the work role, then major adjustments may be required in men's self-conceptions as primary family breadwinners and in the norms governing male-female interaction on the job. (Conversely, for women, high-status jobs may require priority over family akin to the priority men set.) On the other hand, the change in self-conception may not be traumatic, especially if a wife's increased income makes goods and services available, makes life less stressful than when the burden of primary breadwinner is carried by the man alone.

Lastly, if the sex segregation of both family and work role is reduced, then a basic change in the work-role model may be necessary for both men and women. The male work-role model in our society calls for full-time, continuous work from graduation to retirement, subordination of other roles to work, and actualization of one's potential through it. To a large extent, men could give work this emphasis because women supported the male work role, subordinated their own work role, and carried out most of the family role. In the past, with some stress, one breadwinner in the family could follow the male work model. In the present, with more stress, one breadwinner could emphasize work and another breadwinner play an ancillary, less-demanding work role. But it is doubtful whether large numbers of families can function with both partners following the male work model. For both spouses to adopt the male work model, families would have to stop having children, or else household and childcare services would have to be provided on a scale hitherto unprecedented. Without one or the other, two-role living by both men and women will require a new work-role model and for men an expanded family role.

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FAMILY ADJUSTMENT TO UNEMPLOYMENT

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Almost any week even a casual reader of the financial section of the daily newspaper can find articles that note the closing of this or that business. Some of the "obituaries" are so brief that they are barely noticed amid the scanning of stock quotes and economic indicators. In bolder print, headlines peg the unemployment rate for the 1970s at around 6 percent for the foreseeable future. But what the articles and statistics fail to convey is the human reality of economic upheaval. For many Americans, job loss is much, much more than a single event in time. Rather it is an occurrence of monumental import. It starts them down a long road, the end of which promises nothing.

While American society is such that unemployment can knock at any door, some people are more at risk than others: minorities, women, and youths among them. Tradition, however, has given special attention to the problem of job loss for male heads of household, on the assumption that they are responsible not just for themselves, but also for dependents. Unemployment for a married man is not usually just a personal crisis. It is a family crisis as well.

Dr. Louis Ferman, Research Director of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, at The University of Michigan and Wayne State University in Ann Arbor, has been focusing his research on the plight of the unemployed family man. He is asking what happens when a man loses his job. Just what are his experiences and his reactions to them?

Ferman notes that the Recession of the mid-1970s touched many Americans, directly or indirectly. Because of its pervasive impact, large numbers of the Nation's adults became familiar with the institutional machinery that is called into play when a person ceases to be a member of the work force. Unemployment Insurance provides at least a temporary buffer against major economic setbacks. Employment agencies offer channels through which re-employment can be sought. Unions may provide assistance through special programs for members. Welfare offers relief for the truly destitute.

Psychological reactions to job loss are less clearly understood. In the case of a working man who is accustomed to defining himself in terms of his role as a "breadwinner," loss of this role can lead to profound depression, feelings of isolation from his fellows, and lack of hope for tomorrow.

Differences in reactions to job loss do exist. Some of these probably stem from fundamental differences in personality. Certain individuals are by nature optimists; others are pessimists. However influential they may be, personality variables are very difficult to measure, particularly on a large scale, whereas differences in sheer availability and quality of social supports can be documented more readily by the industrial sociologist. In general, the more institutional aids available, the better the outlook for the worker following unemployment and during readjustment to a new job.

Ferman points out that *informal social systems* can play a supportive role in a man's adjustment to unemployment, a role that is as yet poorly understood but more important than one might suspect. Factors such as the amount of sympathy and help received from family and friends can probably mediate between impersonal institutions and the jobless person and have a considerable influence on personal well-being.

Currently, Ferman, recipient of an NIMH grant, is studying career patterns among unemployed blue-collar workers in metropolitan Detroit. He is no novice in the field of industrial sociology. Describing himself as a psychological child of the Great Depression and its economic turmoil, he has been researching the area of unemployment for several years.

Over this period his focus has shifted. His earlier work demonstrated the impact of formal institutional supports on personal morale. Like other workers in the field at that time, he attributed importance to the actual loss of a job as a prime stressor in a person's life. Now his perspective has shifted, and he is more interested in scientific investigations into the informal supports a person receives. He is no longer convinced that the initial loss of work is the greatest trauma of the unemployment period. Events occurring during "recovery" may be more difficult for many people to cope with.

Sociological and economic research, he notes, mirrors the spirit of the times. Writings based on the Great Depression of the 1930s gave prominence to the informal kinds of assistance that were available to a man who had lost his job. In that era governmental props in the form of large-scale programs were nonexistent. Job loss usually meant real and immediate financial crisis. There was no Workman's Compensation, little welfare. Labor unions were in their infancy. Job programs weren't initiated until the Roosevelt era and even then were not brought into being without some popular resistance. A man typically had only his immediate family, kin, and friends to fall back on. The work ethic was so strong and the aversion to anything that could be construed as "charity" so firmly ingrained in most Americans that unemployment carried with it a stigma probably not appreciated today by people under age 50.

> ***"Being unemployed . . . is, after all, a status. You can adjust to it. What's hard to get used to is uncertainty about who you are, where you are going, and how you'll get there."***

Sociology in the 1950s and 1960s eventually followed the zeitgeist. Institutions, it was thought, could save the American worker from distress. Problems associated with unemployment could be legislated away. Research trends followed correspondingly.

The 1970s have witnessed perhaps an inevitable pendulum swing away from faith in the efficacy of large-scale programs to solve all human woes back toward a renewed appreciation of the role of community- and family-based structures in helping the individual cope with crisis.

However attuned to the spirit of the time Ferman's research may be, his current interests were stimulated over two decades ago by the results of a 1957 study of the closing of a Packard Motor Company plant. In that research, he reported several provocative findings. First, he found that a man's level of *economic deprivation* (defined as the amount of relative personal debt, decreased savings, and expenditures) was strongly related to a wide range of social and psychological outcomes. Men who suffered severe economic deprivation were subject to feelings of loneliness, loss of satisfaction with their lives, lowered job aspirations, and loss of contact with friends, neighbors, and kin. Second, sheer length of unemployment was not as important as amount of economic deprivation in predicting a man's state of mind. Third, the worker who went from one job to another and who lost the second job was in much worse shape than one who merely remained unemployed. In fact, the long-term unemployed had higher morale than workers who were re-employed only to lose their new jobs. Fluctuations in employment were more detrimental than long periods of unemployment per se. "Being unemployed," notes Ferman, "is, after all, a status. You can adjust to it. What's hard to get used to is uncertainty about who you are, where you are going, and how you'll get there."

A special group of men in the study were labeled "skidders." The skidders went from bad to worse in their new jobs. After being laid off at the Packard plant, they found new jobs which were at a lower level of skill and pay than before. Skidders were most likely to say that they were very unhappy with their lives.

In the Packard study, Ferman found indications that informal social systems could modify a man's mental health. Casual contact with union officials tended to result in higher worker morale during unemployment. But the study wasn't set up to find out just what about contact made a difference or how much of a difference it actually made.

Ferman tries to capture the subjective impact of unemployment. "We all know that one of the most serious crises that can befall a man in our society is the loss of his job. People are faced with a series of consequences when they are thrown out of work. Their ability to remain attached, socially and emotionally, to the very roots of their society can be impaired. In a broad sense, we are tackling some very basic issues about the way human beings function in crisis."

He goes on, "We know that people who are out of work suffer from a variety of stresses, and we think that these can get translated into both physical and psychological symptoms. One man's ulcer and another man's anomie may be different but equivalent ways of responding to the same problem. Look at Toffler." (Alvin Toffler, author of the bestselling book, *Future Shock*, developed the thesis that life changes can predispose to physical and mental illness. Job loss is ranked high as a stressor, not too far behind death of a spouse or divorce in its ability to produce disease.)

If job loss or events that follow job loss can produce so much stress, a logical question is: What can be done to reduce it? In discussing this issue, Ferman mentions the well-known role of institutional supports in alleviating money problems. Probably a first cause of difficulties during the unemployment period is financial hardship. The songster's adage that "feet don't dance when the roof caves in" captures in its simplicity many consequences of not having enough cash. The more adequately an unemployed worker can maintain his standard of living because of institutional assistance, the more likely he is to be happy and to make his family happy. But more is involved than finances. Job loss can force an unwilling alteration in self-image. A man who wants to work and can't may see himself as one of life's losers at a very basic task. That's where informal supports can play a big role. Ferman cites the research of a former colleague, Susan Gore, who found that a wife's emotional support of her husband when he was out of work helped make his adjustment easier. Men who got tender, loving care from a wife felt better about their present lot and about the future than men whose wives were indifferent or unsupportive.

But Gore studied only one aspect of social support. Many others come to mind as possible influences. For example, Ferman mentions recent work on neighborhood social systems.

From one perspective a neighborhood can be seen as a potential source not only of people who can be sympathetic, but also of informal work opportunities learned about through word of mouth.

In another NIMH project, Ferman is currently studying the activities of what he terms the "irregular economy," research (Ferman, Berndt, and Selo 1978) which he ties in with his unemployment research. The irregular economy, he explains, consists of monetary transactions that are in cash, hand to hand, and unrecorded. They don't appear on anyone's books or W-2 forms. They aren't taxed, but they give the technically unemployed person who is willing to moonlight the chance to make a bit of money. Neighborhoods differ in the opportunities they provide for such work.

Families also differ in the amount of functional and emotional support they can muster. Functional support involves doing things to help out. A family with two strong adolescent sons who are able to work and a wife with skills that need only a bit of polishing to be marketable can provide more functional support to a man out of work than one in which the offspring are still in diapers and the lady of the house is a harried homemaker. Kin can be on hand to lend money, a car, or babysitting assistance. Sympathy is perhaps no less valuable than functional support, and here the extended family can come to the rescue of the nuclear unit. If a man can go off to his mother's when the bills pile up and get some psychological support along with a few dollars, he will probably feel better. He may also be less likely to go home and argue with his wife or punish his children.

Ferman makes two points about the research voids he would like to fill in his current work. First, we don't really know how important informal social supports are to today's unemployed, and we don't know which of them are more or less important. Second, we don't really know what is involved subjectively in the unemployment experience. Unquestionably, there are many types of unemployment and many types of recovery. Subjective reactions to them may depend on such things as the prospect of re-employment, marketability of skills, and financial setbacks suffered during the period out of work. If a man is sure that he will get a job soon, and if indeed he does, then he is not nearly as likely to experience the same destructive and humiliating feelings as the fellow who has to live with little hope and a lot of uncertainty. In order to be able to rank social supports, we also have to know more about what losing a job and getting a new one entail.

THE DETROIT UNEMPLOYMENT STUDY

The present NIMH-funded study Ferman and his colleagues are working on is both an informal hypothesis-testing and an hypothesis-generating one. By means of survey-interview techniques a substantial amount of data has been gathered on a large and heterogeneous group of recently unemployed persons in Detroit, Mich., during the mid-1970s. Preliminary hypotheses concerning the role of economic deprivation and various kinds of social support were foremost in the minds of Ferman and his associates when they planned the design; therefore, survey respondents were polled repeatedly over a 2-year period about their economic position and about the state of their health. What economic setbacks, if any, had they suffered? How far were they from their "ideal" economic status? How did they feel physically? (Blood pressure readings were taken on two occasions.) How much had they been sick since becoming unemployed? Were they taking any medicines? Did they have mood swings or periods of depression? How were families and friends responding to their plight? What specific things were they doing to help or hinder the respondents?

The longitudinal feature of the design permits Ferman to look at changes in behavior and feelings over time. Do people optimistically start out seeking re-employment only to become demoralized if time passes and they haven't found a job or the "right" job? Do they hit emotional peaks and troughs? Is there any predictability to these? Are they related systematically to events happening to the person in the social environment?

The sample is not a random one. Because of protection-of-privacy constraints imposed during the period of data collection, Ferman and his research colleagues could not obtain a master list of Unemployment Insurance recipients from which to draw names of potential participants. With much ingenuity and leg work, they solicited the recently unemployed by various means. They went door to door; they distributed flyers about their project in front of Detroit's Unemployment Office.

The resultant group of approximately 500 participants consisted of former wage earners, both black and white, and included married men, women, and secondary wage earners (those living with families and not fulfilling a primary support role). All the participants have been interviewed in person and over the telephone a total of five times in a 24-month period commencing shortly after their job loss. Eventually, data analysis will provide information about each of the subgroups in the larger sample. At present, Ferman's initial analytical efforts have concentrated mainly on the large subgroup of white married men who are primary wage earners for their families. Because the sample is not a random one, it may not be generalizable to national samples of unemployed. However, it provides the opportunity for intensive studies of individuals who have evolved different adaptations to their unemployed status.

For instance, preliminary looks at the survey data indicated that married men could be categorized into groups based on their career patterns following the initial episode of job loss. To confirm or disconfirm the validity and usefulness of such categories and to discover personal and circumstantial correlates, Ferman and a research colleague, social anthropologist Leslie (Buzz) Dow, Jr., undertook intensive field studies of a small group of individuals. Dow identified three married men who fit into each of seven categories and who met certain criteria of race (white) and age (between 35 and 60). He then went into their homes and conducted detailed, repeated interviews. Dow not only asked the men about their economic condition but also about their subjective emotional reactions and about the reactions of their family and friends.

Ferman is using these many hours of recorded conversations to generate more tentative hypotheses about the role of social supports and personal attributes in adjustment to unemployment, and these hypotheses in turn will be tested in analyses in the large sample.

Hence, the study to date can be seen as having two major aspects: (1) survey data collection and analyses, and (2) intensive case studies. The preliminary findings of the survey guided efforts at more intensive work—work which in turn has generated yet more hypotheses about the causes and consequences of job loss. The intensive case studies are of special interest because they provide a detailed picture of the human aspect of unemployment, an aspect sometimes missed in survey research.

During interviews in Ann Arbor, Ferman and Dow talked about their findings. Dow explained his role in the study. Anthropologists, he said, are usually thought of as living in relatively simple social groups for purposes of observing behavior and cultural patterns. We are less accustomed to thinking of the anthropologist as going into our own ethnic niches in big cities and observing people who live there. But that is exactly what Dow did.

As a background to the discussion of Dow's field work, Ferman first described some characteristics of the general sample. Most people polled had economic buffers. If they were auto workers or in auto-related jobs, as many were, they received Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) as well as Unemployment Insurance (UI). Between the two, income was brought up to about 95 percent of its former level. Unlike the Depression unemployed, today's Detroiter is much less likely to be devastated financially because of job loss. Because economic deprivation was relatively mild for many in the sample, Ferman expects to find only a small percentage of really desperate psychological cases.

He also pointed out that most people started the unemployment episode with the expectation that they would be called back to their former jobs. As time passed, some of these optimistic predictions proved to be unfounded in fact. Then people began to be seriously unhappy, particularly if unemployment benefits were also depleted.

Ferman becomes emphatic on this point. "We began by thinking that the actual episode of job loss was the big trauma, but we were dead wrong. What we're finding is that job loss in many cases is only mildly traumatic compared to what follows—searching for new jobs, dashing of hopes that the old employer will call again, being rebuffed by new prospective employers. These are the events that try the patience and sanity of most workers."

When he took an initial look at the survey findings and at Dow's clinical reports, Ferman found that some social supports apparently were not very important in the overall picture. Neighborhood aid was reported by very few of Dow's men as having an impact on their lives, and workplace supports were negligible. Ferman had in theory placed potential significance on these two systems as sources of support, but empirical results are not confirming the speculations. *The family*—nuclear and extended—comes through in Dow's work as the principal source of sustained emotional and functional support for the unemployed.

Ferman explained the goals set for the clinical interviews. They were: to identify the major factors that affected the experiences of the unemployed man and his family; to find out what personal attributes (i.e., age, previous income, number of dependents, skill level) influenced them; and to see which social support systems mattered.

THE SEVEN TYPES OF UNEMPLOYED MEN

Type 1. Those Who Remain Unemployed After Job Loss

The first of the seven groups contained those who had remained unemployed since losing their last job. The men interviewed by Dow had been unemployed for 3 years at least. Who were they? Contrary to popular stereotype, they were not the very young and very unskilled. It would be unusual, Ferman stated, to find such young men, if able-bodied, out of work for so long. Even though joblessness among the latter group is high, the statistics are probably a bit inflated. Many young men may actually be working in the irregular economy, but because their earnings go unrecorded, they remain formally on the lists of those seeking jobs.

In Dow's case, it was the middle-aged and sick who didn't go back to work again. All three men Dow interviewed had developed disabilities that prevented them from working efficiently or at least diminished them in their employer's eyes.

The similarities between the three male heads of household who fit career pattern type 1 were striking. One of them, fictitiously called Michael Ronan, had worked for a corporation for 33 years and had planned to continue until the age of 60. Early in 1975, at the age of 56, however, he was laid off with 30-minute notice. He felt that the reasons for his layoff—which was really the equivalent of a permanent firing—were his status as a salaried person instead of a union member, a personality conflict with the plant manager, and most importantly, continuing ill health resulting from a severe ulcer condition.

The latter problem was costing the company money since Ronan received pay despite frequent week-long stays in the hospital. Ronan was only briefly entitled to Unemployment Insurance benefits but was able to prove his ulcer condition to be work related. Thus, he has lived on Workman's Compensation and a small pension since 1975.

The other two ex-workers interviewed also suffered from illnesses. One had developed cancer of the larynx and has, since the operation, lived on disability benefits and his wife's salary from a full-time job. The third man suffered a heart attack. After his recovery, he had found it impossible to be rehired either by his former employer or any other.

All the other data available in the study suggest that these three men and the lives they lead are typical of elderly, skilled workers whose poor health conditions rob them of their last several years of potentially productive employment. The pattern indicates that a worker's health record, once questionable, becomes anathema to potential employers. Even those who recover completely from a disabling disease seem dogged by it. Old age or illness, taken singly, are not usually sufficient to cause sustained unemployment; but in combination, they are almost insurmountable.

The men all felt keenly the frustration of having to lose years of income and most or all of their pensions because of events beyond their control. Even worse, each felt that his work situation had contributed to the health problem. They were bitter toward their former employers and toward the "system"—a bitterness fueled continually by shrinking incomes in the face of inflation. Even though the men had suffered illnesses that most people would consider catastrophic, Dow got the impression that sickness paled in comparison to the suffering caused by losing their jobs. The men expressed ultimate resignation to their plight, but their voices were filled with bitterness about the blind unfairness of life.

Type 2. Those Who Return to Work for Their Former Employers and Remain on the Job

The second pattern consisted of unemployment followed by return to work at the former job. The three individuals in the case study who fit this pattern were unemployed in 1975. In a 1976 questionnaire, Ferman and Dow learned that they had been subsequently rehired by their former employers. By the time of the interviews in the summer and fall of 1977, all three had been working steadily for more than a year. In each case, the men had done a lot of thinking about the impact of the unemployment period and were eager to communicate their thoughts to someone.

One man, Brian Canter, began working for Ford Motor Company in December 1973 and was laid off in November 1974. A college graduate, he has held a highly skilled job both before and after an 11-month period of unemployment. He worked as an experimental parts director, inspecting parts put into engines used in the development of automotive designs. Since he was relatively new in his job at the time when the layoff came, Canter was not eligible for SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) and was forced to subsist primarily on Unemployment Compensation and his wife's income.

Like other men in the second group, Canter is a skilled worker, but his skills are not widely marketable. When unemployed, he had little hope of finding a job as good as the one he had had with Ford, so he spent only a nominal amount of time exploring avenues of formal employment. Instead, he and a friend started a very modest and off-the-record janitorial service and thus avoided payment of taxes, while they continued to collect Unemployment Insurance. Despite this small supplemental income, Canter still found it difficult to make payments on all the debts he had incurred while with Ford. He watched his savings disappear and his Unemployment Compensation end. He became increasingly depressed and despondent.

To Canter, being unemployed was without a doubt the worst experience of his life. He felt agony when he realized that his family could not maintain its former lifestyle, in spite of his efforts. Toward the end of the 11-month layoff, the strain on his marriage was, in his opinion, critical. Canter asserted that his health was also affected because of emotional and psychological strains. Since his return to work, however, both his ability to meet financial obligations and his personal life have improved dramatically.

The two other men interviewed experienced many of the same emotions as Canter. One, an older, skilled tool-and-die worker was also worried about finances. While his physical health was not affected, his marriage was dealt a "mortal blow" by his job loss, and he and his wife divorced. The third man received SUB payments while out of work. With 95 percent of his pay not affected by his unemployed status, he was never subject to severe financial pressures. At first he even found his free time enjoyable, but after 2 months he became restless. His drinking increased, and the amount he spent on alcohol ate into the family's budget. Even though he has returned to work, his alcoholism continues unabated, and his wife is suing for a divorce.

Ferman puts forward some generalizations about this group. First, regardless of how stable income was, the men's personal security was affected by unemployment. Two of the men attributed most of their problems to lack of money but a third had money and still suffered. Personal relationships within the family seemed to deteriorate. In all three cases, there was an increase in marital strife. But, however difficult their situation may have been, the men in this group were better off by far than the men in group 3.

Type 3. Those Who Found a New Job and Remained Working at it.

Of all the distinctive career patterns observed in the case histories, the third one has proven to be most fraught with peril for the men who follow it. Without exception, these workers believe that the layoff period has been the most difficult challenge of their lives. Also, without exception, each has adjusted to new employment with a determination never again to suffer the humiliation and defeat of losing both job and income.

The men in type 3 never had hopes of being re-employed at their former jobs. They were victims of firms or businesses that had gone bankrupt or companies whose increased automation made their skills obsolete. Accustomed as they were to steady employment, they found job loss extremely devastating to themselves and to their families.

The experience of Miguel Sanchez is a prototype of other men in the group. Sanchez had worked as a security guard until December 1974, when he began a period of unemployment that continued for 14 months. After searching for work throughout his layoff period, he was hired in February 1976 as a patcher in the heating department of the Great Lakes Steel

Company, a job he had maintained for 1 1/2 years at the time of the case interview.

Sanchez, his wife, and their three children lived through a series of crises during those 14 months between jobs. The family's only income was a small support payment Mrs. Sanchez received and the Unemployment Insurance benefits Sanchez was entitled to. After a year, however, these latter benefits expired, leaving the family without means to pay even modest bills. Shortly thereafter, they were "kicked out on the street" when their rent fell overdue. Their car was impounded. Prospects for the future seemed bleak indeed.

In the weeks that followed, Sanchez describes nightmares beyond comprehension as he searched for food and shelter for his family. When he finally was hired at his present position, he was a much relieved man. He still considers himself fortunate to have escaped even greater catastrophes while unemployed.

The second man, a middle-aged carpenter, lost his job "out of the clear blue sky." Because of his wife's new job as a secretary and his own unemployment insurance, however, he suffered relatively little economic deprivation. Nonetheless, he remembers the period out of work as one of profound problems. He drank more, ate more, slept more, and watched more TV, meanwhile enjoying all these activities less than before. He contemplated suicide more than once during his layoff period.

The third worker had experiences closely parallel to those of Miguel Sanchez. Because his wife worked and because they had no children, financial difficulties never were as insurmountable. Nonetheless, he did not escape emotional trauma. Particularly unsettling to him were loss of the "provider" role and having to take "handouts."

With all the men what was most disturbing was the increasing doubt that they would ever work again and the nagging realization that financial security might permanently elude them. Because they knew they would not be rehired by their former employers, they were pessimistic about ever being hired by any employer. This sense of hopelessness distinguished type-3 workers most readily from their type-2 counterparts. Uncertainty about the future for the men took perhaps as great a toll of human misery as did reduced income. Depression and anxiety were common experiences.

The men now report themselves as having recovered markedly from their symptoms, but each agrees that he is less optimistic, more cynical, and more thankful than ever that he is working.

Type 4. Those Who Have Been Periodically In and Out of Work With Their Former Employers

The fourth group of men were those who had been periodically in and out of work with their former employers. For each of the type-4 individuals interviewed, periods of work and joblessness were fairly predictable. They were also accompanied by SUB payments and rarely lasted for more than a few months. Economic deprivation was minimal. Under such conditions, unemployment came to resemble something closer to a vacation than a life crisis. Not every one of the type-4 men interviewed acknowledged unmitigated pleasure in being unemployed, but their reactions were so mild as to present an important alternative view to a usually dark picture.

Steve Zaiglin, a typical type 4, is a 29-year-old employee of Massy-Ferguson, a large Detroit producer of tractors and tractor accessories. His specific job involves spray-painting parts before assembly, labor he described as semiskilled. Since starting work there in 1974, he has been laid off intermittently, an average of 2 1/2 months during each year. For every year the layoffs have been spread over several 3-week intervals, each of which Zaiglin was able to anticipate by 2 months.

During a layoff, he received 95 percent of his normal pay plus the virtual guarantee that he would be called back to work. Not surprisingly, he referred to these periods as "the best of times." Far from presenting a threat to his security, unemployment offered him the opportunity to travel, relax, and spend time with his family, all luxuries that are unavailable to most holders of full-time jobs. The other two type-4 men didn't deviate much from Zaiglin in their patterns. One, when pressed to find an unpleasant aspect of his time out of work, mentioned jealousy directed toward him by friends of his who were working 40-hour weeks, yet earning comparable wages. At times he admitted to feelings of guilt that he was, in essence, "cheating the company," though for the most part these sentiments were overridden by his enthusiasm for his lifestyle, with its consequent reduced responsibilities and increased leisure time. The third worker didn't actually enjoy his periods of unemployment but admitted that economic penalties were few. What he disliked was having to spend so much time at home, since he believed that a man should spend only evenings and weekends with wife and children. However, he suffered no severe traumas in contrast to workers of types 1, 2, and 3.

It was after Dow's interview with the men of type 4 that he and Ferman became quite convinced that the unemployed were not homogeneous. The experiences of these men were very different from the others. Unemployment could be a pleasant interlude, a planned-for respite from the drudgery of 9-to-5 work, if a man was sure that he could work again, at will. It became a harrowing experience for the fellow who found his skills suddenly obsolete in the work force and who wasn't sure that he would meet with success in trying to get back in.

Type 5. Those Who Have Been Periodically In and Out of Work With One New Employer

The career pattern of type-5 workers was superficially similar to those in the fourth category in one way. Both types of men established patterns of employment, unemployment, and re-employment. In the case of type 5s, however, this pattern was established only after initial job loss from a first employer and subsequent re-employment with a new one, and type 5s rarely received SUB. Hence, it was unlikely that they had the financial flexibility necessary to pick and choose their next job.

This basic difference between the two types is illustrated by contrasting reactions to unemployment. Type 4s tended to view it as a slight bother at worst, a welcome vacation at best. Type 5s shared little of this attitude, since they had to struggle to supplement their Unemployment Insurance with some other form of income. While it is true that periods of unemployment for the type-5 worker might have been just as temporary and just as short as those experienced by type 4, the former's lack of SUB created an economic crisis seldom endured by the latter. Hence, unemployment was not a welcome respite. However, neither was it the agony of uncertainty faced by workers in the first three career patterns.

It is interesting to note that all three type-5 men interviewed by Dow were mechanics. This occupational similarity allowed them to engage in activities in the "irregular economy" which eased financial difficulties during periods of formal employment.

Jesse Wiley's career pattern exemplifies that of type-5 workers. Since losing his first job as a tool grinder over 15 years ago, Wiley has worked steadily with only temporary layoffs for a small Detroit tool-and-die company. During three layoffs he received no SUB and is entitled only to hospital insurance in addition to UI benefits.

Because he possesses skills as a mechanic, during periods of unemployment he works in the irregular economy and earns an income approaching 50 percent of his normal wages. This income, coupled with monthly unemployment checks, allows him and his family to continue in a lifestyle not radically different from the one they are used to. In short, adjustment made by the Wileys to unemployment is not as considerable as it would be were it not for the irregular economy. Not surprisingly, Wiley's overall response to his periods out of work is free of the trauma which appears virtually always to accompany a dramatic reduction in income.

Type 6. Those Who Have Been Periodically In and Out of Work With More Than One New Employer

The sixth career pattern illuminated in the larger survey study and examined more intensively in the case study was the most chaotic of all. Workers with this type of career history have not only experienced repeated layoffs, but each layoff followed a job with a different employer. Dow's three type-6 men revealed through their histories a variety of reasons for chronic unemployment, so that he and Ferman were left with little basis for generalization about the type. The following brief portraits of type-6 careers illustrate the extreme variability that exists.

Alan Ali, age 33, has worked for six different employers in a 14-year career. The jobs he has held range from stockman at a grocery store to mine worker in Arizona. In between jobs, Ali has worked sporadically as a handyman in the irregular economy, but with little success. He shows no signs of upward or downward job mobility, but remarkably he professes to be undiscouraged by his consistent failure to find work adequate to provide for his family. Not even qualified for Unemployment Insurance, Ali survives through the help of a welfare check.

Although he expresses some concern over the emotional adjustment of his 9-year-old child to his father's unemployment and laments the debilitating effects of unemployment on his physical strength (an asset in many jobs he finds), his own adjustment has not been characterized by personal trauma. He remains hopeful and patient.

Keith Laren, another type-6 worker, has a work history quite similar to Ali's. Laren has been through seven jobs in 7 years. Unlike Ali, he shows little inclination to change this career pattern for one more stable or permanent. Throughout the interviews, Laren repeated his motto that "Responsibility isn't worth the heartache." He has long ago exhausted UI benefits and is content with an income well below the poverty line. A job as a mechanic in the irregular economy and a part-time job held by his wife are the only sources of income the family has. Despite this, Laren boasts of great enjoyment of his lifestyle.

The third type-6 worker, a 61-year-old bricklayer, offers an example of why it is difficult to make any generalizations about this career group. James Sullivan is a specialized laborer who throughout the years chose to move from job to job in order to go after "big money." Consequently, he has often found himself out of work and, lacking entry into the irregular economy, has depended on UI and savings to tide his family over during these periods.

Unlike Ali and Laren, Sullivan has experienced shame and bitterness over his failure to provide for his family as he would have liked. Not only a loser of his gamble for higher earnings, he has also sacrificed the benefits of a company pension, insurance, health care, and perhaps, most importantly, has given up the greater steadiness and security of a more conventional career. Though economic security is apparently unimportant to Ali and Laren, it is crucial to Sullivan's sense of his own worth.

Because workers in the sixth career pattern are so different, Dow and Ferman have little in the way of generalization to offer. Perhaps the most that can be said is that such a work pattern should itself be divided into several subtypes, each of which warrants further observation. Indeed, in recognizing the oversimplification inherent in establishing any limited set of career patterns, they return to their original proposition: that unemployment is a multifaceted phenomenon and that each of its forms must be understood separately and independently before researchers will ever be able to grasp what it means to an individual when he loses his job.

Type 7. Those Whose Career Patterns Conform to None of the Above.

A minority of the larger survey sample, 9.5 percent, had experienced work patterns so idiosyncratic as to defy attempts at classification. In selecting three individuals to interview in this catchall grouping, Ferman and Dow wanted to determine if career histories were really as distinctive as they seemed. The emergent data show that the cases are of importance precisely because they demonstrate the great variety of forms that unemployment and its consequence may take.

To give brief examples, the first type-7 worker, George Sampson, age 35, lost a position as a high school history teacher in 1975. The holder of an M.A. degree, he had hoped to remain employed permanently in teaching. During an otherwise arid year of unemployment, he taught as a substitute. Recently however, he became so disillusioned about ever teaching again that he has taken up painting in the irregular economy. Currently he is planning to leave Detroit altogether and seek a teaching position with the Peace Corps in Algeria. Sampson's disappointments are not primarily financial, since his wife has worked steadily at a full-time job which has provided enough money for them and their two children. What bothers him the most is the "humiliation of unemployment." He attributes several physical and emotional disorders he suffers from—overweight, insomnia, depression, and cynicism—to frustration and uncertainty.

Joseph Wininski illustrates another variety of unemployment. Wininski, now 59 and retired, quit his former job of 31 years with Chrysler Corporation because it was becoming increasingly onerous to him. He did so realizing that he was entitled to a modest pension which, together with a veteran's disability allowance, his wife's income, and their savings, allowed him to live comfortably even if he should never find another job. He never did. During the first interviews, Wininski professed to be seeking employment, but it soon became apparent that these efforts were at best halfhearted. At present, he says that he is wholly contented with his situation. Because he has a comfortable income available to him approximately 10 years before a more conventional retirement age of 63, Wininski opted for a work status that conforms officially to the category of unemployed but might more correctly be labeled voluntary early retirement.

The final case history of a worker whose career pattern was difficult to classify is that of Randy Jacobs. Jacobs' career has to some degree followed the type-2 pattern since he now has returned to work with a former employer and has remained on the job. What is unusual about his history is that he has worked for other employers in between. First employed as a machine repairman in 1970 by American Can, he continued there until he was laid off in 1974. Before returning to that company for work in 1977, Jacobs worked variously as a Dairy Queen manager and later as a retail salesman in a discount department store. The latter two jobs were not sought merely as interim positions. Jacobs reports thinking about not returning to American Can, and he only took his present job because the offer included a pay raise. Unlike other type-2 workers, he had neither the desire to be rehired by his former employer nor the expectation that he ever would be.

As might be inferred from his attitude toward his former job, being unemployed was never a crisis for Jacobs. Dow found him to be one of those rare workers who genuinely enjoyed unemployment, even when it was accompanied by considerable economic sacrifice. His success in finding new jobs, coupled with savings and his wife's jobs, has enabled him to enjoy his time off as a pleasant, extended vacation. Throughout the interviews with Dow, he exulted that life had never treated him better than when he was unemployed, and he lamented his return to American Can. Like the other workers classified under type 7, Jacobs' case history reaffirms the broad range of responses to unemployment and suggests the need for analyzing other factors which mediate the individual's response to the loss of a job.

In generalizing about the findings of the case studies, Ferman noted that the individual's adjustment to unemployment is mediated in a most critical fashion by the postunemployment career pattern. Career pattern sets the background for being laid off and helps translate that event as quite stressful, relatively benign, or even welcome. This fact may be the study's single most important conclusion, for far too often unemployment is envisioned as a uniform, unicausal experience. On the contrary, from the case histories, it emerges clearly that unemployment's surest constant is its variation.

Within that variation, however, patterns of career histories hold much value for their ability to predict likely responses to unemployment. Where SUB is available, the worker is under little if any increased economic burden during his layoff and stands an excellent chance of weathering unemployment quite easily. Not surprisingly, the converse of the above is also true: The worker without SUB who suffers significant financial losses is most likely to succumb to the more destructive personal consequences of unemployment. Yet the picture is also complicated by the degree of certainty with which the worker is able to view the future. Those former employees who felt assured of re-employment were less prone to negative sentiments than those whose future remained uncertain. The analyses of career patterns suggest avoiding overly simplistic arguments regarding the obvious advantages of a stable income and propose an awareness of the vital influence of the worker's outlook toward his chances of finding another job.

As shown by the few case histories that offered exceptions to generalizations, no particular career pattern by itself was a sufficient indicator of adjustment to unemployment. For this reason, the case studies were also designed to determine the extent to which personal attributes influenced adjustments to the loss of a job. Dow and Ferman reasoned that such factors would aid interpretation of reactions to job loss that might not fit the "normal" patterns. Accordingly, in interviews, individual workers were asked questions specifically designed to reveal whether or not the informant felt that his age, education, or number of dependents played a significant role in his adjustment. Similarly, his opinion as to how much his ability to cope with unemployment was helped or hindered by people within his social milieu was sought.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL SUPPORTS

To investigate the influence of personal attributes and social support on workers, Ferman and Dow devised a measure of degree of trauma suffered in response to unemployment. This measure was based on subjective self-evaluations by the workers themselves and supplemented by the impressions of other family members. These data were weighed against the personal observations of Dow in deciding whether the worker's adjustment to unemployment showed a low, medium, or high degree of trauma.

To give examples from the career pattern data of a high degree of trauma, men of types 1, 2, and 3 tended to exhibit the most frequent signs of mental and emotional stress during unemployment. A case in point is that of Miguel Sanchez who suffered for months from constant fears for his family's future. Many of the symptoms he endured are shared by 11 other individuals designated as showing a high degree of trauma associated with unemployment.

Five men were designated as suffering a *medium* range of trauma. Among these workers, job loss did not entail severe negative reactions reflected in poor physical or emotional health. Rather, their accounts of job loss relate difficulties that are trying but never insurmountable. For the most part, medium-trauma individuals are resigned to their layoffs and confident of their abilities to survive the period.

Finally, the *low* measure of trauma is reserved for the men to whom job loss posed no threat at all to their own or their family's well-being. Five workers in the sample of 21 were in this group, and they tended to be those who actually enjoyed their period out of work.

After each man was assigned to a trauma level, the latter variable was examined in relation to the variables of age, education, number of dependents, number of kin, and income loss to see which of these exerted a significant influence on adjustment to unemployment. Although the numbers of men involved were too small for Ferman and Dow to perform complicated statistical analyses, they performed simpler correlations.

The resulting analyses showed that education, number of dependents, and number of kin had no influence on response to unemployment, whereas age and income loss were significant factors. While high-trauma workers (11 of the 21) were both old and young, *all* workers who reacted with little or no trauma were quite young (32 years of age or less). In fact, four of the six workers under 30 reacted with minimum trauma, while five of eight over 50 responded with the maximum amount. Hence, evidence suggests that an advance in age increases the likelihood that emotional and psychological consequences of job loss will be serious.

Ferman suggests that the older men were products of the Great Depression era when being out of work and "on the dole" carried with it a special stigma that the younger men did not feel. The older men carried forward with them into the 1970s values and sentiments prevalent in the 1930s when to be poor and out of work was to be morally deficient.

While number of kin was not an indicator of degree of trauma, it is Dow's firm impression that *quality* of kinship ties was. Since this latter factor was impossible to quantify, Dow drew heavily from the content of interviews in arriving at this conclusion.

For example, he noticed that all type-1 workers stated repeatedly that the severe consequences of unemployment were significantly reduced by the emotional support provided by their wives. But the importance of a wife's support also points up a paradox in the study. On the one hand, a worker's adjustment to unemployment was positively influenced by his spouse and, on the other hand, job loss in many instances triggered marital disputes and even separations. While an analysis of factors that cause one worker's spouse to be supportive and another to be unsupportive is beyond the scope of the study, the data suggest that when relationships between a worker and his family are weak and unenduring, the negative consequences of job loss are all the more devastating. By contrast, when he can find support through one or more intimate relationships that have permanence, his adjustment to unemployment is correspondingly improved.

Ferman and Dow also point out that among the 21 workers, where positive social support could be said to exist, it came almost entirely from kin folk. Without exception, every informant who reported any degree of support at all credited his wife with the bulk of it, and those with children invariably mentioned their healthy influence, whether or not offspring were living in the household. A few mentioned the importance of specific friendships in adjustment, but these took a back seat to kinship. Neighbors and coworkers were in no case described as having provided social support that informants felt to be substantial.

Finally, the degree of trauma suffered by a worker was associated more strongly with income loss than with any of the other variables considered already. Among workers whose incomes were reduced by $150 a week or more, measurements of trauma were, without exception, high. At the other end of the scale, only two of nine individuals whose incomes were reduced by $50 a week or less suffered the highest degree of trauma, while five of them experienced the lowest degree.

In short, while a worker's career pattern probably is of foremost significance in influencing responses to unemployment, several personal attributes were also associated with degree of trauma endured by the participants in Dow's case studies. Level of education and number of dependents appeared to have no bearing on trauma whatsoever, while age was of far greater importance. Social support from kin mediated trauma, although it was the quality rather than the number of kin bonds which seemed crucial. Finally, a worker's response to job loss was understandably very closely tied to the amount of income lost or gained during unemployment. The presence or absence in particular of SUB or UI benefits affected the material and psychological well-being of the worker, with workers who received them much better off than those who did not. Income change during unemployment could also be moderated by the work contributions of a spouse and/or by income from the irregular economy.

SUMMING UP

When asked about the project's broad implications, Ferman began by making some generalizations: Today's unemployed are an extremely heterogeneous group to whom unemployment can mean different things. For some people, it is the start of a difficult and tenuous course of readjustment, for others a temporary pause, perhaps frustrating, even pleasurable, but one that is more or less defined as time limited. Those who have to live with uncertainty about tomorrow are those who suffer. Not knowing about the future invariably takes a major toll on the individual and his family.

Especially for workers with good prospects of future employment and those whose economic deprivation is minimal, unemployment is not equivalent in psychological impact to that suffered by millions of Americans during the Great Depression. Where economic deprivation is great, however, it is still at the root of many problems, such as psychological depression, loss of hope, alcoholism, and family disruption.

Compounding the effects of economic deprivation, loss of status as a breadwinner adds to personal shame and humiliation. Such emotions are felt most forcefully by older workers who attach a stigma to the unemployed status.

Despite the availability of transfer payment supports such as SUB and UI and opportunities for work in the irregular economy, the majority of unemployed workers appear to remain attached to the world of steady work. A good job is certainly one that pays well, but other facets are important. Chief among these is predictability of employment with its implicit certainty for the future. Dollars and cents so often appear to dominate economic discussions that we are apt to forget that money may be a means to an end of achieving a lifestyle buffered against economic downturns. Other aspects of regular work that make it appealing are overtime, fringe benefits, and personal challenges. Thus, even when supplemental payments from institutional sources and informal work opportunities are available, regular work is sought for its psychological benefits.

Of all the informal social supports studied by Ferman and his colleagues, the only one to emerge as having real significance is kin support. Blood relationships seem to convey a responsibility to give aid that neighboring and worker relationships do not. While sociologists have been wont to speak glowingly of the importance of neighborhood social networks in assisting the individual, they may have been overly zealous in their estimations, at least as far as the unemployed person is concerned.

If the family system is indeed the most critical informal one in mediating the effects of unemployment, it may also be the most difficult one to influence. Congressional fiat and Presidential orders alone cannot strengthen the quality of family bonds. The forces affecting family cohesiveness are difficult to isolate. At times they are idiosyncratic, often so general as to be intertwined with broad economic and social forces. Notions of what is "good" or "right" for the family are open to interpretation and are, at any rate, difficult to implement through systematic action.

When asked where his research fits in the larger scheme of things, Ferman refers to a book, *Mental Illness and the Economy*, which has served as an intellectual inspiration for much of his work. In it, author M. Harvey Brenner argued that a major source of increased mental disorders and serious diseases in the twentieth century was economic recession and depression. Ferman aspires to fill in Brenner's more general sketch with details. "I hope that my study will provide a picture of the impact of job loss on mental health and some idea of the family's role in influencing economically conditioned outcomes."

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THE NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILY: THE URBAN WAY

Principal Investigator: Dorothy L. Miller, D.S.W.

Author: Charlotte Dickinson Moore, NIMH

Maria quietly left the crowded, one-bedroom apartment with its dinner smells still hovering in the hot still air. She crept down two narrow flights of littered stairs, hearing the early evening sounds, pans clattering, a baby fretting, a strain of acid rock. Out on the stoop, she looked up expectantly. On the reservation, a look at the constant stars had marked the predictable end of a busy day helping her mother, playing with the cousins, or, a special delight, tending the sheep. Often, evening was the time for talking with her parents or for hearing stories about her people and the great sky above them all.

The sky over Oakland seemed lower than the sky over the reservation, lower, with a reddish glow and a heaviness and no trace of the opalescence of a country sunset. A penned-up dog yipped impatiently and a siren began its persistent whine nearby, the sound diminishing as the ambulance sped away toward an emergency room somewhere. Maria remembered the sirens. She once had gone to a hospital emergency room when her mother had cut her hand badly. The child still recalled sitting scared and alone in a corner and watching other frightened people waiting, waiting, waiting, and staring dully as new victims of fights or accidents came through.

Maria's mother came noiselessly to stand by her daughter. She put her hand on the child's shoulder and so they stood side by side for some time, staring upward. Maria wanted to tell her mother what she remembered of a blue sky, with stars and a

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moon. She sensed, though, that her mother understood. Together they watched her older brother come home from his cleaning job in the big office building a few blocks away. He was carrying a bag which, Maria knew, held a small treat for her and the little brother, since it was payday. Now, if only her father would come, walking straight and proud as he used to. Often, lately, he came with his shoulders sagging and his head bowed. Sometimes, more and more often, his steps were uncertain and uneven from too much drink. On those nights he never spoke the tales of his people, Maria's favorite bedtime stories, but only of his despair, if he spoke at all.

Two years ago, the family had come to Oakland by bus with two battered cardboard suitcases and a few boxes. This was another bad memory for Maria. All of them had been excited when her mother and father had finally decided to leave the dusty reservation and to go where her father could have a job every day. Maria had expected to have a few new dresses and a good pair of shoes to wear to a big school where she would have lots of new friends. But at the bus terminal on the very first day in Oakland, with the family standing around their belongings, her mother holding the new little brother and her father undecided what they should do, Maria had been afraid.

The Traveler's Aid lady had advised them to call the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Her mother had said no, because they had come to the city on their own and the BIA wouldn't help them. They had been lucky, though. Another Indian who was sweeping up cigarette butts and crumbs from the floor of the terminal had spoken to them and asked the name of their tribe. He had met a man from their reservation at a powwow the previous Saturday and offered to find him where he worked in a warehouse a few blocks away. Maria and her family had sat down gratefully to wait until their new friend had time to leave and seek the man out. The little girl still remembered the prickles in her dangling feet, and wishing she had a quarter to put in the television box in front of her chair.

THE INDIAN COMES TO THE CITY: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDIES

The story of Maria and her family is a composite of the stories of many urban Indian parents and children. As depressed peoples have for centuries migrated to urban areas in search of employment and a better life, Native Americans have ventured off their reservations and into the cities, often encouraged by various governmental agencies. Some have remained, many have returned, homesick, to the support of their extended family networks and to the known, no matter how poor.

A larger movement of American Indians to the cities accompanied the radical social changes of World War II and its aftermath. In 1952, to ease widespread unemployment and formidable social problems on the semi-isolated reservations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) began a program of vocational training for young Indian adults, including subsistence for six months, in cities where jobs appeared to be more abundant. A number of the families who relocated to benefit from the program stayed in the cities; many not in the program joined them. Now, though the program has been discontinued, nearly half of all Native Americans live away from their reservations and Indian communities.

Most people, when they talk about the Native American in the city, talk about the alcoholism, the poverty . . . that doesn't tell the whole story . . .

Most Americans are familiar with the bitter history of the First Americans. Histories, novels, and movies have presented it from many perspectives. Within the last quarter-century, Indians have joined other ethnic American groups in rising consciousness and growing pride and awareness. Like the recently prideful terms "Chicano" and "black," more extensive use of "Native American" denotes pride in self and heritage (as well as an attempt to correct Columbus' "mistake").

Relocation and Sociocultural Dislocation

Anthropology and ethnology are receiving more attention generally, and more Indians themselves are studying and writing in those disciplines. Many are entering the helping professions the better to aid their people. A report on research done in the San Francisco Bay area by the Native American Research Group of the Institute for Scientific Analysis observed (Miller, 1975): "We now talk with young Native Americans who have never seen their reservations, never spoken their native tongue, nor listened to their 'old ones.' . . . The planned and massive movement of Native Americans, by the BIA, from the reservation to the city is the most significant crisis to face us since our conquest by the white man. It presents us with a terrific problem: how can we retain our Indian identity under the pressures of separation, assimilation, and urbanization? How can our families socialize young Indians in both the traditional ways and the non-Indian ways? Will the city environment accomplish what 400 years of 'civilizing the savage' failed to accomplish—the elimination of Native Americans as a distinct people?"

Relocation seems to be a concomitant of the mobility endemic to a highly industrialized society. Many accept it as the price of upward mobility or, often, merely the opportunity to work. Leaving behind old networks of extended kin, friends, the neighborhood, the church is hard for any group, in any society. Weaving new networks is hard, too, but easier for people who share the same ways and speak the same tongue as their neighbors, whether in ghetto or suburb. The same report refers to relocation as "a process of struggle, of loss, of hope, of longing to return and determination to stay."

The sociocultural disorganization which has been seen by many sociologists as the natural sequel of movement from rural to urban area has occurred to reservation-bred Indians with even more force than to other groups. For them, the cultural shock has been on two readily perceived levels, country-city and Indian-Other. There is yet a third level for these Native Americans, one of which many other Americans are unaware. Indians are not all one, one language, one way of life, one religion, over three centuries of governmental effort at uniformity to the contrary. With 280 tribal groups and with more different tribal tongues in Oklahoma and California alone than in all the languages in Europe, how could they be? It is no wonder that Murray Wax, longtime scholar and observer of the Indian way, wrote (1971): "Thus the city becomes not only the frontier where Indian and white meet, but also where Cherokee and Sioux, Navajo, Chippewa and many others are meeting, adjusting to each other, and helping to shape the identity of the American Indian."

Biculturation

The Native American Research Group hypothesized that a true biculturation, an internalization of the norms and values of two worlds, and subsequently a sense of identity with two cultural modes, might occur in second generation migrants to the city. No one else has explored this biculturation process among urban Indian children, faced with competing pressures to conform to city life, white or black, and to parental and tribal values which may be vastly different from those of their peers. Determined to find out what happens to those Indian children whose parents have moved from reservations to the city, the Research Group decided to investigate such areas as:

- The identity of the Indian family with traditional Indian modes.
- The degree of urbanization undergone by the family.
- The socialization process undergone by the child.
- The sense of identity which the child is developing.
- The degree of the child's adjustment to the urban setting.
- The need for relevant Indian-oriented, Indian-run programs in health, education, welfare, and economic development.

The Native American Researchers

The principal investigator, Dorothy L. Miller, D.S.W., is part Indian, a mother, a grandmother, and a Phi Beta Kappa. She worked in the Midwest in factories for almost 20 years before going to college, obtained her AA from a community college, a BA "with honor" from the State University of Iowa in 1955, and her MA in social work there two years later. Miller began doctoral studies in sociology there while working as a psychiatric social worker, but in 1961 went to California and earned the Doctor of Social Welfare degree at the University of California in Berkeley.

Many of Dr. Miller's papers reflect her broad research interests—deinstitutionalization of mental patients and recidivism, suicidal behavior, and alcoholism in many of its aspects. Her approach to the study of the American Indians' socialization to urban life reflects, as well, her preliminary studies in sociology and a scholar's objectivity blended with concern for her people. For some time, she has been President of the Institute for Scientific Analysis, a nonprofit social policy research organization in San Francisco. She established within that Institute a Native American Research Group to train and employ Native American reseachers. The study, "Native American Families in the City," is their product and the Native American Research Group's work continues under the direction of Jenny Joe, Ph.D., a Navajo.

Of her philosophy, this woman with the deep, contagious laugh says: "My major theoretical interest through the years has been in the big field of deinstitutionalization. I look on research as one of the ways of bringing about change for the betterment of the human condition and I'm very interested in social institutions and how they change and what harm or good they do to people. I'm hoping that I can work myself out of the Indian research business. That's not a bad thing to say, but a good thing. The young Indian scholars will address these issues." Dr. Miller is pleased to have a hand in seeing more and more young Indians receive scholarships and grants for further studies and research.

In April 1978, the Native American Group went to Merida, Yucatan, in Mexico, to present a panel at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, the first time an annual meeting of that organization has sponsored an all-Indian panel. The topic, "When Indians Serve Indians," presented material on how Indians do research and how they can use social research as a resource for their own purposes.

Many social science researchers consider studies of a particular group conducted by individuals connected by blood and tradition to the group under study to be lacking in objectivity. Despite this thinking, Miller chose Native Americans as her researchers. In-cultural methodology, she believes, has provided more accuracy and more reliable descriptions of urban Indian family life than could have been gained otherwise. Through her own rigorous training and her scholarly interest in other "non-Indian" problems, she has learned an objectivity in data collection and survey methodology that she has inculcated in the staff. These young people have thereby received a large, additional benefit—effective on-the-job training.

There were other considerations at the outset. Given the distrust of most Indian people for BIA agents, anthropologists, or census takers (and an inclination to tell the questioners what the Indians think they want to know), it was necessary that the interviewers be acceptable to the respondents. The staff was able to work helpfully and knowledgeably with the families; findings were constantly fed back to the various programs and activities of the urban Indian community. Research and community work became almost synonymous to the staff, one of whom remarked that he felt he had gained many new friends.

Because of tribal feeling, great care was given to the selection and assignments of the interviewers. A Sioux was selected to interview the Sioux, a Navajo, the Navajos. For the third group to be studied, the collection of "California" tribes, the person chosen had to belong to one of those tribes and have a good understanding of most of the others. For this, a Shoshone Paiute was selected. The fourth group of families, classified as "Other," was so random in composition that the only choice could be an interviewer not belonging to any of the other three. Therefore, the rest of the staff members were chosen from tribes in the "Other" category, knowledgeable about the other tribes, and able to develop good rapport with the families.

As Associate Principal Investigator and Project Director, Anthony Garcia was important to all three urban Indian studies. Miller laughed when she related how this compassionate young man has been kidded by other staff members because he is a "warlike" Apache. Others who contributed during the first, and largest, of the projects were Beulah Bowman, Walter Carlin, Chris Maybee, and Peggy Sierras. They have since completed their education or have returned to their reservations to carry on helping projects among their own tribes, in a place and culture where the "caregiver" traditionally receives great honor.

Present when Miller was interviewed about the studies were Al Richmond, editor for the Institute for Scientific Analysis, who contributed helpfully from his perspective as a non-Indian well-acquainted with the Native American researchers, and Ron Lickers, a likeable, open young Rhode Islander of Narragansett and Seneca parentage who joined the staff in 1977, and whose enthusiasm for the project and tales of tracing families for the recent, longitudinal work, were lively and infectious.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STUDY

An estimated 30,000 American Indians, representing more than one hundred tribal groups, live in the San Francisco Bay Area of California, which includes the city itself, Oakland, and San Jose, a situation repeated in the Los Angeles area and in Denver, Chicago, and other cities across the land. The Bay Area seemed a natural laboratory for researching answers to the Native American Research Group's questions about the problems faced by young Native American families seeking a living and trying to raise their families in the city, and for testing the Group's biculturation hypothesis.

From 1972-1975, The Native American Research Group conducted a 3-year field study of 120 families living primarily in Oakland and the surrounding area. The 120 families were chosen by use of a "snowball sample," that is, referral by each of the families interviewed to other families with children whom they knew. The Group made use of BIA records of families who came to the Bay Area from 1954 to 1971 under either the Employment Assistance or Adult Vocational Training Programs and of records available at Indian centers. A survey of services available to the Indian community and a longitudinal, followup study came soon after.

Tribal Background and Distribution of the Study

The word *Indian* means little to an Indian. As Miller explains, "The first thing you ask another Indian is, 'What tribe are you?' And you think of yourself as Blackfeet, or Sioux, and so on . . . . The continuity of Indian life is largely symbolic, but very strong. Indian people feel they belong first to their tribe. Very few white people have come to understand what that means. It's not belonging to a country, or a sorority, or a church. It's all of that and more, a difficult concept to grasp."

Agreeing, Ron Lickers added, "I think it's nationality that people are talking about—all of it combined with nationality."

Author, activist, and attorney, Standing Rock Sioux Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote of this phenomenon (1971): "Tribal society is of such a nature that one must experience it from the inside. It is holistic, and logical analysis will only return you to your starting premise none the wiser for the trip. Being inside a tribal universe is so comfortable and reasonable that it acts like a narcotic. When you are forced outside the tribal context you become alienated, irritable, and lonely. In desperation you long to return to the tribe if only to preserve your sanity. While a majority of Indian people today live in the cities, a substantial number make long weekend trips back to their reservations to spend precious hours in their own land with their people."

The Native American respondents of these studies exemplify Deloria's claim; these migrants to the city have arrived at different survival techniques for themselves and their families, according to their different tribal values and customs.

Of the 120 families selected, 30 were Sioux and 30 Navajo, since these had the largest representations in the area and the most intact cultures. For the other half of the sample, there were 30 California tribes and 30 from other selected tribes—three Chippewa, three Choctaw, two Apache, two Cherokee, two Hopi, two Laguna, two Papago, and one each of Arapaho, Blackfeet, Comanche, Creek, Eskimo, Kickapoo, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Kiowa Arapaho, Santa Domingo, Stallo, Taos, Thompson (Canada), and Tuscarora. Parenthetically, Miller cautions that many of these tribal names are "white man's words," and are used to delineate the affiliations of the Indians in the study "to keep our story clear for the non-Indian."

In the case of the first three sample choices, the selection provided an extra dimension to the study. Navajos are considered "matrilocal" and the Sioux "patrilocal" family types. Assessment of the potential impact of these culturally determined patterns of family life was thus built into the research. In addition. they are mainly "reservation" Indians, unlike the 30 families from the California tribes who are not only closer to home but, in most cases, have lived previously in a small town near a reservation or on a rancheria, much smaller than the typical reservation and not granted most of the assistance which the BIA gives to recognized tribal reservations. These Indian families form an important group for comparison with the first two, because their ways of life and work reflect contacts with the white man's jobs and schools and they have easy, frequent contacts with their own clans and tribes.

The 30 families from non-California tribes provided a balance against which the Sioux and Navajo influences could be compared. Further, although many of the tribes from which these families came had been as decimated as the California tribes, they furnished the diversity reflective of the aggregate of Native Americans.

The Navajos

The largest and most unitary of the tribes, the Navajos, more than most others, see themselves as a distinct people, without a strong self-identification as "Indian." Their number has been estimated to be as high as 100,000. Many have migrated from their reservation to other areas of the Southwest, but until recently many have been relatively isolated in the deserts and mountains, largely in Arizona, with portions of the reservation in Utah and New Mexico (Wax 1971). Now there is a constant movement by young couples into the cities because of the money to be earned there but back to the reservation when the routine and loneliness become too great. Most of them still speak their own language and listen to their own language broadcasts in Albuquerque and Gallup, New Mexico. Culture retention is greater than for most tribes and, with their consolidated land base, supports their designation of themselves as "Dine," The People.

Miller's comment on the Navajo women underscores the matrilocal aspect of their culture. "They are so strong," she said, "and so able, for the most part. They really do carry themselves as though they were 'the bearers of the tribe.' And they do it all so well," she added to Ron's comment that most of the Navajo women he had known were able to carry tremendous loads—family problems, school and working problems and emotional problems as well.

The Sioux

The mighty Sioux nation of a century ago has been scattered over nine reservations in the Dakotas, northern Nebraska, and parts of Minnesota. The language is spoken by only a part of their people—small wonder, divided as they are by time and space, lack of transportation, and the severe summers and driving blizzards in their part of the country. Now, there are only about 50,000 descendants of this formerly powerful tribe, on reservations ranging in size from small town to small city. There are large numbers, as well, in the cities and towns of the Northern Plains, in addition to those who have been relocated in recent years.

Many factors have militated against preservation of Siouan culture and language. They were not blessed with the continuous land base and more salubrious climate of the Navajo reservation, so that social and family structures could be nourished. More importantly, perhaps, because of their cultural base on the patrilocal family style and a warrior society, the last bitter battles of the nineteenth century not only decimated their warriors but began the disintegration of social and family structures. The male Sioux, faced with unemployment and inability to provide for himself and his family, may face a more serious diminution of self-concept than his counterpart from a tribe not so bound by a patrilocal culture.

The single-mate family style mandated by the white man's missionaries and agents to conform to his way seems unable to support itself in the miserable cabins of the reservations and neighboring small communities. Plural marriages were banned and consanguine families split to separately allotted land parcels so that traditional support systems particularly adapted to the Siouan way of life were less available. There is an abnormal rate of divorce and broken homes, with grandmothers fulfilling their old role as keepers of the children. Descendants of the Great Plains buffalo hunters, as Fuchs and Havighurst comment, have suffered the effect of cultural disaster, suppression, and forced change (1972).

The California Tribes

These are the remnants of tribes most decimated by their conquerors, first by the Spanish, whose missions used Native Californians as virtual slaves, and then by the Anglo settlers, ranchers, and miners. The loss in population from sickness, depression, and conquest was staggering; Miller's report cites a loss of some 18,000 California-Great Basin region Indians—an 80 percent decline—during the fifties, sixties, and seventies of the past century.

These tribes differ from most of the others in both advantages and disadvantages. Their decimation has weakened their cultural traditions. They lack the BIA schools and hospitals on which, for better or worse, many tribes rely. They have, however, learned more about getting along in the white man's world and are less dependent on the Federal Government.

Like most Native Americans who have lived in or near "white" towns, they still feel like outsiders. Many have low expectations of themselves, mirroring the prevailing opinion of the neighbors. Most know that education is the path their children must follow, but they are loathe that these children forget or forsake their own way. Many lack confidence in a possible middle way.

The "Other" Tribes

The 21 tribes represented by these families came from many locales, some from hunting and some from farming traditions. The researchers felt that these "Others" furnished an opportunity to study the differences between tribal influences, particularly in child-rearing and cultural adaptation.

Other Research Resources

Researchers went to the Pine Ridge, Fort Belknap, and Navajo reservations to interview 15 families who had returned to the reservation after relocation. They also worked during the three years with groups of Native American children in Oakland, both in and out of school, learning about their views of life in the city. They held interviews and conversations with people involved with the Native American community in the Bay Area: Native American teachers; BIA, welfare, court, and other Government officials; and medicine men, singers, and community workers. They talked with sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, educators, and religious persons who had some knowledge of the Indian in the city.

THE FIRST STUDY: AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIALIZATION TO URBAN LIFE (1972 - 1975)

The Native Americans who came to the city brought with them the problems of their poverty and their inheritance, problems they share with their fellow tribesmen back home. Assimilation is difficult because of their darker skin; the predominating society is often ambivalent toward Indian values and culture. Further, unlike the languages of other minority groups in this country, the Indian languages are considered of little value by non-Indians.

Realization of these factors led the Native American Research Group to point out a characteristic of all peoples whose way of life is under attack. They report (Miller 1975): " . . . when one's values are openly questioned and continuously challenged, those values become explicit and cherished, are held even more tightly and kept preciously from the onslaughts of outsiders. That defense of a now-noticed-and-cherished set of values makes explicit the reasons for the preference and strengths, and becomes the personal and social underpinning of our once-taken-for-granted world." For many Native Americans these values are a bulwark; for others, they are dissonant with the negative evaluations learned more recently. Then what about the children, reared away from the land, kin, and tribe, using English as a first language in schools where their contacts are with city children of other cultures and colors? Can they find and maintain their sense of self as Indian, as valued members of a tribal life style? Can accommodation make a viable life for them as persons and members of a new cultural style as well?

Areas of Analysis

To focus on family life and childrearing and socialization practices of urban Indian families, four areas of study were selected:

- The nature of the family's commitment to traditional Indian behavior and attitudes.
- The adjustment of Native American families to the city, and an examination of the acculturation process as it affects the family.
- Methods of socialization, as illustrated by the family's childrearing practices.
- The correlation of the degree of Indian identity of the mother, the childrearing practices and child experiences in the city, and the degree of urbanization of these families.

Methodology

This investigation is truly "in-cultural," designed and conducted as it was by Indians themselves, who worked closely with members of the urban Indian community. Information gathering and presentation, while objective, fulfilled the triple purpose of collecting data, furnishing immediate help and counseling to the families, and providing constant feedback to the various programs and activities in the Indian community. The researchers had been apprehensive that the Indians being interviewed might not fully understand the goals of the project and that the academic community might feel that objectivity had been lost.

Participation by the Community

There were discussions with Indian mothers to define and agree on the most critical issues for the study. What problems did their children face in the urban environment? How were their children faring in the city? What issues were most related to survival in the city?

After this important first step, many community members were assembled to talk about the community and its needs. The mothers' group also assisted in developing an interview schedule, considered vital because it was desirable for the families to understand what was being asked and to want to participate in knowledge sharing about Native American urbanization.

The Interview Schedules

After the first interview was developed, the staff memorized it. They had hoped to put their respondents at ease in this way, knowing the innate distrust most Indians feel for people who ask them questions. They were asked, though, why they didn't have a questionnaire, and realized that the families to whom they talked felt that putting the information down on paper meant that it would not be forgotten. Happily, these respondents had already concluded that their answers would be channeled into help for their community.

The second interview schedule, a combination of closed and open-ended questions, was divided into four parts. There was the ID sheet, the only personal identifying item, used to keep track of the family until the interviewer had an appointment and removed for confidentiality when the interview was over. The second, or face sheet, provided a general family history and helped maintain a balanced sample of male and female focal children. Each family had been asked to select this "focal child," one under 18. After the selection was made, all questions were asked in relation to that child's life, unless otherwise noted, a technique designed to assure that the study focused on childrearing practices by mothers who had moved to the area on relocation.

The third part contained four sections detailing: more family history, mobility patterns, family interaction and socialization; interaction with the community, use of social agencies, and urban survival; mother/father experience on the reservation or in an Indian community prior to relocation; and education and socialization of the focal child.

The fourth part of the second interview schedule was taken from material used by Dorothy Miller and David Kallen for an earlier study, "Foster Care in America." It dealt with the mothers' views on discipline and the extent of self-care by the children, such as the ages when they could dress and perform other skills independently.

Social and Demographic Features of These Urban Indian-Families

In talking with those in the 120-family sample, the researchers "made a lot of friends" and covered many issues. They wanted to know the difference in coping skills between relocatees who had come directly from reservation life and those who had lived off the reservation prior to their big city experience. Tables 1-A through 1-C show where these people lived earlier and the circumstances of their coming to the Bay Area.

According to Table 1-A, greater prior experience of the California Indians in town or in other cities has caused them to feel the stigma of "second class" citizenship, of being outside longer. Many, therefore, reported that the negative attitudes of rural Californians, especially as experienced by the children in the smalltown or rural schools, had prompted them to move to a larger place. The researchers quote a Pomo mother's comment that many California Indians were so ashamed of their heritage or afraid of prejudice that they took Mexican names or tried to marry into Mexican families. This mother feels,

Table 1—Selected Sociodemographic Characteristics of 120 American Indian Families In the San Francisco Bay Area.

	Sioux	*Navajo*	*California*	*Other*	*Total*
A. RESIDENCE PRIOR TO RELOCATION	30	30	30	30	120
Reservation or Indian Community	77%	77%	57%	67%	69%
Small Town	3%	0%	12%	10%	7%
Urban	20%	23%	30%	23%	23%
B. RELOCATION BEFORE AND AFTER 1960	28	29	26	30	113
Before 1960	14%	31%	23%	17%	21%
After 1960	86%	69%	77%	83%	79%
C. TYPE OF RELOCATION TO BAY AREA	29	30	29	29	117
Self-Relocated	48%	20%	28%	41%	34%
BIA-Relocated	52%	80%	72%	59%	66%
D. FIRST CONTACT IN BAY AREA	30	30	29	29	118
Relatives	50%	17%	52%	17%	34%
Other Indians	47%	63%	31%	68%	52%
Non-Indians	3%	20%	17%	13%	13%
E. MOTHER'S MARITAL STATUS	30	30	30	30	120
Single	47%	13%	40%	33%	33%
Married, Same Tribe	33%	67%	10%	17%	32%
Married, Other Tribe	3%	17%	40%	43%	26%
Married, Non-Indian	17%	3%	10%	7%	9%
F. LOCATION OF HEALTH SERVICE	29	30	30	30	119
Hospital/Clinic	61%	87%	50%	80%	69%
Urban Indian Clinic	14%	10%	17%	10%	13%
Private Doctor	25%	3%	33%	10%	18%
G. RESIDENCE PREFERENCE	30	30	29	28	117
All right here	32%	30%	31%	14%	27%
Better Area	60%	53%	55%	79%	61%
Back Home (reservation)	8%	17%	14%	7%	12%

though, that the attitude is changing and that young California Indians now are "growing up proud."

Tables 1-B and 1-C indicate the length of time since the families of the study cohort relocated and under what circumstances they came looking for jobs, education, adventure, and a more equal chance. The BIA intensified its relocation programs after 1960 and helped most of the Navajo familes who came. The Sioux, more scattered and less in touch with Federally sponsored programs, depended more on friends and relatives who had already come to the city.

The Stronghold

Relatives "help without being asked. It's just our way, I guess," replied one mother to the question presented to the sample about each family's first contact upon arrival in the city. The replies of 118 of the mothers, in Table 1-D, show the important first contacts in the city. The mothers indicate that relatives and other Indians—of the same or even different tribes, once the barriers have been broken in the new setting—are necessary to render city life viable for these newcomers. Sharing one's life with extended family members is integral to an Indian's cultural heritage. In fact, the importance of relatives to urban adjustment, by tribe, is reported in percentages as: Sioux, 77%; Navajo, 97%; California, 87%; and Other, 83%.

Thus do tribal groups value the psychological supports of the family, with warm conversations about old experiences shared and remembered and new experiences faced better by sharing survival skills and financial assistance in emergencies. Statistically, within the group studied, relatives give assistance in emergencies, such as illness or financial distress, as follows: Sioux, 75%; Navajo, 86%; California, 86%; and Other, 77%.

Such dependence, and such responsiveness to dependence, are nearly impassable barriers between Indians and whites unacquainted with each other's "ways." For instance, the cultural value of sharing makes accumulation of goods and money difficult for an individual Indian family. Further, employers rarely accept an Indian employee's irregular attendance on the frequent excuse that he has to help relatives in trouble.

Urban Indian families, especially when they are new to the city, are torn between their view of "white ways" as cold and selfish and their cultural norms, considered "dysfunctional" by the larger society (or "shiftless," in the parlance of irate employers). "Out of such a psychologically destructive situation, many defense mechanisms can emerge . . . apathy (not doing anything), getting drunk (not facing problems), flight (leaving the scene), getting depressed (turning against oneself), going into a rage (getting angry at the world), doing and undoing (giving and getting) . . . in short, all types of tension-release activity may occur. Children reared in such a conflictual cultural structure form the nucleus for this study." Thus the Research Group reported (Miller 1975).

Urban Indian Family Patterns

Even for the tribes who had faced such disruptions before, adjustment from the complexity and interdependency of extended family life on or near the reservation to the constriction of an isolated nuclear, or conjugal, family life in a city is possibly the most difficult adjustment the recently urbanized Native American must make. As in families of other cultures whose extended family patterns are broken, there is nobody to turn to in an emergency or to babysit for a few hours. In addition, for the Indians especially, there are neighbors whose customs are unfamiliar and reactions unpredictable, or there are faceless agencies, whose questionnaires are frightening and delays tedious.

In the sample of 120 respondents, Table 1-E shows one-third of the families to be headed by single females. The contrast between the Sioux mothers, 47 percent single heads-of-household, as opposed to 13 percent of Navajo mothers, reflects the tribes' different cultural values regarding the conjugal family and the stronger supports received by Navajo women, who are nearer their extended families and reservation. These figures, along with the responses concerning the importance of relatives to urban adjustment and the reliance on family life in emergencies, suggest the decreased family dependence of the Sioux, compared to the other tribal groups studied.

For the Native Americans as a whole, as tribal life has eroded and husbands and fathers have fallen in battle, or have died of accidents, suicides, tuberculosis or alcoholism, Indian mothers and grandmothers have assumed the major family-care role. For all Plains Indians, traditional family life was adversely affected by the destruction of patrilocalism. Long ago, the Sioux family may have contained more than one wife, but always the father's role was central to both tribal and family life. Conversely, the matrilocal nature of Navajo culture, with the mothers the holders of status and wealth, has left a legacy of women who are better able to hold their families together.

Assimilation, in this case referring to any outmarriage, intertribal or interracial, has occurred less frequently among Navajo mothers than the others, particularly the Sioux, as shown in Table 1-E. Outmarriage is hard on the offspring of these unions, since many tribes base tribal membership on the "blood quantum" level, and BIA registration, or tribal roll number, distinguishes between "full-blood," "half-breed," and so on.

Fifteen percent of these urban Indian families having a male head of household, whether married or not, were headed by stepfathers, the largest percentage of these being the California families (22 percent). Many households have acquired family "extensions," all under one crowded roof, by the formation of "subfamilies," defined as a conjugal unit living with a related head of household or a single parent and children living with relatives. Fourteen percent of the families in this sample had relatives living with them, with the California group having more, probably because they live nearer to their homes of origin. Six percent of the families had nonrelatives living with them, one-third of whom were employed, and who, like the relatives, were students or jobseekers. Mother-headed families, especially, seem to have welcomed these extensions to their households as hedges against loneliness.

Other Supports

There is hardship for Indian families whether urbanized or reservation-bound. For those newly off the reservations there is the unaccustomed necessity to pay for rent, babysitting care, and transportation, to say nothing of the doctor and dentist. The added responsibility, with so few economic resources, is hard personally and maritally, and many return to the reservation for this reason.

Health care on the reservation is free; it may be inadequate and hard to get to, but many Indians considered it their right and find that medical care in the city is also hard to get to and expensive as well. The red tape of medical insurance or of Medi-Cal for those on public welfare is confusing for many.

Adequate medical care, then, is too difficult in the city: 41 percent of the mothers say their money is insufficient; nearly one-half have no medical or hospital insurance; 28 percent claim that their medical insurance rates are too high; and 10 percent complain about inadequate transportation. For many, making arrangements and using the telephone, assuming that they have one, can be overwhelming.

These families were asked where they turned for medical services when necessary. Their answers appear in Table 1-F. It should be noted that the Urban Indian Health Clinic is in San Francisco, 15 miles from Oakland and 45 from San Jose, the cities where a large percentage of the respondents live.

Aside from economic and logistic difficulties, there are other problems, particularly for these women—waiting, filling out forms, being referred here and there, and just being sick and poor in the city. Also, there is modesty and pride about appearing brave despite fright and pain.

Employment

Not many of the relocatees completed their BIA-sponsored training or received job placement because of it. Fourteen percent of the fathers in the families under study were unemployed, and 12 percent were in training of some sort. Of those in the labor market, almost one-half were in blue-collar, low-skill jobs, many on a part-time or a temporary basis. The model of the Indian father, as of the black father in many cases, is difficult for the children to follow.

Overall, according to the U.S. Census, Indians have the lowest rate of male labor force participation of any group in the country, which could be particularly denigrating for the patrilocal Sioux. In terms of fathers working, the Navajo family was more intact than the Sioux, followed to a lesser degree by the California Indian families.

Half of all these mothers work full or part-time outside their homes to supplement their men's meager earnings or as sole breadwinners. Two-thirds had not completed job training, 7 percent had been trained as beauticians, 8 percent as medical assistants, and 18 percent as clerical workers. More California tribal women were employed or in training, probably because of their earlier, more frequent contacts with the white world.

The statistics about these families are harsh. One-half of the families interviewed were not earning a living in the labor market. Indeed, one-third reported that there had been no income from wages or salaries during the year preceding the first Research Group study. Others earned minimal amounts; 27 percent of those interviewed were on some kind of public welfare, and 10 percent were receiving unemployment insurance. Only 9 percent of these families were getting financial assistance from BIA programs of any sort, and most of that was a training stipend or relocation aid.

There is another aspect in the Indian employment picture, probably less formidable now than when these people were newcomers to the urban employment scene, but a problem, nonetheless. It is the attitude described by Dr. Miller: "The word 'work' is a difficult concept for a lot of tribal people. They are very rural, and the idea of exchanging labor for money on a regular basis is not something they've been brought up to do. Materialism and individualism are not part of the culture. It's very selfish to set yourself up as better than other people. You might see women working enough to buy children their school clothes and then just not going back to work anymore. They worked to get what they needed and they quit when they didn't need anymore."

There are some Indian families in the area, however, who are becoming upwardly mobile. Among those families which have remained intact and have regularly employed heads of household, there are some who have accumulated enough to buy homes and other signs of affluence—a truck or van, or a vacation back home (without giving up a job). Even these families, though, live with the knowledge that illness, job layoffs, or family problems can wipe out their small savings and that the affluence they dreamed of on the reservation is only that so far—a dream.

Residential and Social Patterns and Preferences

The most impoverished areas are home to many urban Indians, one-half of whom still live in apartments. Their preferences are shown in Table 1-G. Translated, the table means that, if they could afford it, 61 percent would like to live on the edge of the city, with a view of the hills or the sunrise, or at least on a "tract with a tree."

Upon relocation, the BIA placed many families in available slum housing throughout the inner city of Oakland. Many extended family units were broken up, a practice which drew Dr. Miller's comment, "That's part of the folklore in the BIA; if you're going to make it, you're going to be mainstream. You have to tear the people's roots from tribal soil."

Indians who came "on their own" naturally looked for housing near other Indians but found that they had to compete for the lowest cost housing with all other minority people of the urban area. So, from a quieter, less crowded, more reserved way of life many of these families were thrown into ghettos not their own where they were frightened and repelled by loud music, free and colorful language, and open expressions of violence. For example, some Indians had never seen blacks before and were afraid. Now, some Indian mothers and especially their children report strong bonds with their neighbors. Others hold themselves aloof: Of the 72 percent of mothers who reported knowing their neighbors, about one-half state that they have no close relationships with them.

According to Miller, housing patterns are coalescing, with small groups of families moving closer to each other. It is possible that, within the lifetime of the children in this study, there will be an Indian enclave somewhat like Chinatown and Japantown in San Francisco, with school children attending regular schools for math and English and other courses necessary in their new world and receiving native language instruction at their own schools.

When they are new, immigrants of ethnic or racial groups can find comfort in being with their own kind. This is more difficult for Indians because of the vast tribal differences in language and living habits. These differences are lessening, though, as Indians find that members of other ethnic or racial groups regard them as strange and that socializing with other Indians, no matter how different, is easier and more comfortable. The mingling of members of different tribes is happening more and more often, as Indians seek out and meet other Indians at Indian centers and churches, Indian bars, and, above all, at the powwows. This current intermingling occurs at southern California powwows, the scene of mostly Plains Indian dancing, which has caught the imagination of other Indians and of whites as well, Dorothy Miller observed.

She said of the powwow, "It's become our social institution, in the same way that, for blacks, it's the church. It's where you go to find out who's in town, or where there might be a job, or who might have a place to stay, or whatever. For distribution of knowledge or wealth, or exchange of ideas . . . . And the gossip."

The relief from tedious ghetto life afforded by the powwow and the psychic security of moving nearer their own kind have helped these new city dwellers. As noted in table 1-G, although dissatisfied with their present residence, most would prefer to remain in the urban area where jobs are more likely and schools are better. Almost one-fifth of the Navajos and California Indians stated, however, that they would like to return "home" if they could make a living there. Most maintain close ties with their reservations and make frequent and tiring trips back, even as they try to come to terms with city life.

Ron Lickers, with family ties in both Rhode Island and Canada, explains the ambivalence poignantly: "Our home is in a place that people who live in urban areas would not remotely consider. We go back to a reservation that is really impoverished, but we call it home and we understand it . . . . You go away and get a job and you think you're going to make life a little better for yourself, but you always have it in the back of your head that you're going home . . . . We belong where our families have survived for thousands of years, and many Indians see urban areas as places where you 'break families up' or where 'grown children go.'"

"The city is the only place for a job, though. You get used to the money, you want a car, you want a flush toilet—these are valuable things," observed Dorothy Miller. "And then you go home, and you can't have those things. They want to begin economic development on the reservation. . . ."

The Children in the City

In the beginning of the study, each mother was asked to select one of her children as the "focal child," the child the mother felt was most representative of her family's experiences in the city; 56 percent of these focal children were born in the city and had lived there all their lives. They ranged from one to 17 years of age, the average being 9.2. Some 53 percent were boys, about 47 percent girls. As a way of learning more about child care, schooling, and adapting to urban life, the researchers subdivided these 120 children into four age groups: The Little Ones, under school age (22 percent); The Young Ones, aged 6-11 (44 percent); The Little-Big Ones, 12 through 14 (21 percent); and The Big Ones, 15-18 (13 percent). Although the number in each group is small, each was felt by the researchers to be representative of the socialization process faced by newly urbanizing Indians in any area.

The Little Ones

According to the statistics for this sample, one-fourth are "breeds," who therefore face greater identity problems than their mothers. All of them must learn English soon, to communicate with their caregivers and the neighborhood; one-fourth of the mothers speak their native language at home—a long-term good, but hard now for the very young. Over three-fourths of these live in apartments, with no yards, so they cannot run about as they should. Twenty-nine percent have only a mother; one-third of the fathers who are at home are unemployed or are often absent, drinking, visiting, or looking for work or help; and one-fourth of the families are on public welfare.

Over one-half of the mothers of these little ones are employed, so babysitters or other daycare arrangements must be found. Among the extended families of the reservations, child care has always been taken for granted, a custom which may make newcomers to the city appear child-abusive. There have been occasions in the city when police have been called and Indian parents summoned to court because they have left their children alone.

"In the Indian way," said Miller, "The children are really the property of the tribe and of the clan, so whether the biological parents were present or absent, neglectful or not, really didn't matter much, because there were plenty of parenting experiences for any child.

"The little kids on the reservation don't worry about where they are going to sleep that night. They just go visiting and stay wherever they want to stay, and nobody worries." Lickers told of going elsewhere on the reservation for several weeks to visit when there were guests and his home seemed crowded.

Ordinarily, Indian families are accustomed to going everywhere together, and separate classes, day care, and so on, are looked upon as practices that divide the family. When they can, most mothers take their children with them or stay at home. At powwows, children are always present, listening respectfully and learning from their elders and dancing with them as if there were no age separation. Often, parents do not see their own children from beginning to end of a powwow, so accustomed are they all to sharing.

A group of young Indian mothers reported to Dr. Miller that they are attempting to create an "extended family" for their children and forget the old tribal barriers by living together, taking care of each other's children, or taking in another sister from home. And Ron Lickers says that many of the Indian families who are students at the University of California at Berkeley live in a housing complex where they depend on each other for support. Child care ranges from sharing while parents are working or in class to having one person or nuclear family responsible for all of them for a day and night or two.

The Young Ones

These early-school-age children are trying to make their way into the multiracial world which began opening up to them in nursery school, Head Start, or day care. In a few cases, their socialization has been almost entirely the powwow, their language, almost entirely a native Indian tongue. They have learned to do many things for themselves at an earlier age than their white or black counterparts. Their training and discipline, if done in the old way, has been mostly nonverbal; scolding has been done by a stern look and correction often achieved by "teasing" rather than physical punishment. As the Final Report (1975) states, "Relationships are intense and deep. When a parent is attending to a little one, that time is one of complete attention, and of total psychological power. But little ones soon learn that they must share the attention of others, that they must not make demands without cause, and that they are expected to take responsibility for themselves and contribute to the total ambience of the group."

Often the mothers of these children are confused; when they teach the "old ways," they are aware that their young ones may not be prepared to "compete" in school. If they were still living among their tribes, these young ones would be receiving their primary training and socialization from grandparents and

Table 2—Mothers' Educational Levels and Attitudes and Native Language Retention in 120 American Indian Families in the San Francisco Bay Area.

	Sioux	*Navajo*	*California*	*Other*	*Total*
A. EDUCATION	30	30	30	30	120
Less than 8th Grade	6%	23%	0%	0%	8%
8th-12th Grade	80%	67%	80%	90%	79%
Some College	13%	10%	20%	10%	13%
B. SECONDARY SCHOOL	30	30	30	30	120
BIA Boarding School	40%	67%	3%	37%	36%
Public School	27%	20%	90%	50%	47%
Private (Mission) School	33%	13%	7%	13%	17%
C. ATTITUDE AND KNOWLEDGE OF SCHOOL					
Grades Important	12%	33%	27%	17%	
Knows Child's Subjects	73%	78%	87%	83%	
Attendance Important	39%	38%	57%	27%	
Child Has Problems	13%	4%	7%	28%	
D. WHY CHILD LIKES SCHOOL					
Interest in Subjects	68%	74%	56%	53%	
Interest in Peers	23%	26%	22%	32%	
Interest in Sports	9%	0%	22%	16%	
E. SCHOOL BEHAVIOR					
Likes School	79%	92%	93%	78%	
Does Homework	40%	57%	63%	50%	
Comes Directly Home	60%	73%	90%	77%	
F. PARENT/CHILD USE OF TRIBAL LANGUAGE	30	30	30	30	Total 120
Both Use and Know	8(27%)	9(30%)	0 0	6(29%)	23(19%)
Mother Only Uses	10(33%)	12(40%)	6(20%)	11(37%)	39(33%)
Neither Use Nor Know/Unknown	12(40%)	9(30%)	24(80%)	13(43%)	58(48%)

other relatives. They would be learning skills, crafts, rituals, dancing and chanting, horseback riding, nature lore, and the history of their people.

The children in this sample attend many different schools, with few other Indian children, and obtain that socialization at powwows or the Indian Center. They are learning too early to be street-wise, have little financial security, and often come from broken conjugal families. Many will "make it," some will not.

Tables 2-A and 2-B indicate the extent of education of the 120 mothers and where they received their education, both factors in their perception of their children's school experiences. Many feel that parenthood is hard for them because they were taken away at an early age to mission or BIA boarding schools where an appearance of apathy might be advantageous; some report being punished there for using their native tongue.

Most of these mothers feel that attending school in the city is important for their children. A few say they will send the children back to the reservation at high school age. All are concerned about the kind of schooling their children are receiving. Tables 2-C, -D, and -E indicate the interest these mothers show throughout their children's school career.

The Little-Big Ones

These are the children who are beginning to lose interest in school, despite their mothers' urging to get an education. School is boring, compared to meeting with other youth to drink beer, flirt, fight, and enjoy their maturing bodies and growing independence. They have learned to "take" (not "steal") some of the things they see that other children have.

Almost one-third of these are without a father and miss the guidance they might receive from that source. In addition, many are caught in a strange role-reversal, like their siblings both older and younger. Most of their parents and nearly all of their grandparents were raised to listen to and accept the wisdom of the Old Ones, the "bearers of the knowledge." Now, as Miller puts it, "Parents frequently use their children as arbiters of city life—they depend on the children to tell them the right way. The kid says, 'I don't want to come home right after school. I want to go play with so-and-so; everybody else does it.' The mother says, 'Well, if that's the way it is.'

"And the child knows where things are, how to use the pay phone. So they're teaching the parents about the city. The mother may decide to wait until Johnny comes home to go to the store. Parents must ask the children, 'Where is the bus depot?' 'How do you work the dishwasher?' And then the little girl has to go to the kitchen to show her mother. Parents are accepting the norms children are manufacturing for themselves."

Most Indian parents find the school system distant and bureaucratic and have no idea how to express their concern for their children's education. Few of them attend PTA, but over half of the children interviewed about homework report that their mothers or older siblings help them when they need it.

During the research, an Indian parent group was formed to examine the school problems of their children. These parents helped develop a "Drop-in Center" for their young people who were dropping out of school. Further, they have consulted with Native American teachers and established a preschool program in which the parents are heavily involved. There are burgeoning ideas for a Native American alternative school for their children based on their own culture and heritage.

The Big Ones

There were 16 of these 15- to 18-year-olds, many with dreams of what they would like to do—warrior and adventure roles for the young men, as in the armed services, police, or airlines, and caretaking or artistic roles for the women, as either nurses, secretaries, or artists. The investigators, though, were of the impression that only two of these appeared likely to graduate, despite the concern and worry of their mothers. Already one has borne a child, some have dropped out, and some have been in jail.

One-third of these families are on public welfare, 38 percent of the fathers are employed, 44 percent of the mothers work outside the home. Many of the youth in the sample have part-time jobs to make money for cars and clothes, many to help their families and care for their younger brothers and sisters. Their mothers help them in every way they can, standing behind them in times of trouble and often sending them back to the reservation, to their own families, trying to strengthen the tribal bonds. Most of these youths realize the psychological supports available in their families and for many their homes become a social center where they bring their Indian friends. Their lives are anomalous, a blend of the good and the bad from both cultures.

Like their siblings, these Big Ones have been raised in a style which other cultures would call "permissive." From birth, each child is a separate being, his own self. Discipline, in style and degree, depends on tribal custom and, more and more, on the degree of control and the impingement of the larger world on the individual family. It is these factors, "Old Ways" versus the new, and the degree of native language retention in the home, which influence the self-concept of these Indians—individuals or families.

Indian Identity and Urbanization: Who's Going to "Make It"?

Feedback of preliminary study findings resulted in development of a number of programs for Native Americans in the Bay Area. Further, the researchers developed criteria for Indian identity, using three empirical measures. First, the types of families were categorized based on language retention: Traditional, with both mother and child speaking the native tongue; Transitional, in which only the mother retains the tribal language; and Marginal, in which neither generation uses the native language.

Table 2-F indicates the acceleration of loss of tribal languages under the impact of city life; like some of the other tables, it suggests tribal differences and reservation ties as well. Table 3 shows language retention identity types by tribe of 94 of the subjects.

Table 3—Language Retention Identity Types by TRIBE (Percentage; N=94)

150	*Traditional*	*Transitional*	*Marginal*
Sioux	34%	44%	22%
Navajo	43%	51%	1%
California	0	21%	79%
Other	27%	50%	23%
Total	24%	41%	34%

The second empirical measure was based on the extent of home teaching of tribal ways and values, of the cultural norms of their people. Parents who are proud to be Indian, glory in their tribal customs, and adhere to their people's values give their children firm roots. The assumption is that they are the ones whose children know who they are.

The third measure was of the mother's stated preference for her child's marriage partner, the hypothesis being that if her own identity was important to her, she would want her child to marry an Indian.

The investigators examined the degree of traditionalism versus acculturation among the urban Indians, using these three indicators of Indian identity, as shown in table 4. Navajo mothers ranked highest on all Indian-identity indicators, the mothers of the California tribes the lowest, and the Sioux and Others somewhere in the middle. This ranking seems to substantiate other data that Navajos have the greatest degree of tribal and traditional identity and, possibly, the best chance at survival in the city.

Table 4—Respondents' View Of Three Indicators Of Indian Identity, by Tribe (Percentage)

	Know Language	*Teach Indian Ways*	*Prefer Indian Marriage for Child*
Sioux	47%	73%	42%
Navajo	93%	77%	81%
California	0	47%	70%
Other	45%	54%	72%
Total	46%	63%	67%

Some of the families had been in the Bay Area for a long time; some had come and gone and come again. In the course of the study a few had gone to the reservation, some to stay, others to recoup and try again later. According to the Research Group's hypothesis, those with strong traditional background, with ties to family and friends both in the city and on the reservation, and with sturdy belief in their culture would show the greatest social and psychological adaptability in the city. The Traditional, the Transitional, those moving away from Indian ways but still familiar with them, and the Marginal families, those at home in neither world, were compared with each other on a number of variables—Significant Others, Adequate Income, High School Education or Higher, Urban Childrearing Practices, and Child's School Adjustment.

The findings are interesting but are not considered conclusive, of course, because the sample was small. Indication of validity of the bicultural adaptation model however, formed one hypothesis on which the subsequent longitudinal study was based. That is, families who maintain a sense of Indian identity *and* are able to adopt some strategies of urban living seem to make the best adaptation to life in the city.

And even before completion of the later studies, many Native American Study Groups in various colleges had started using this study as a text, complete with the tribal symbols of each Research Group member on the staff-designed cover.

THE SECOND STUDY: NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: THE URBAN WAY (1974-76)

Researching and interviewing the 120 families of the first study had led to other questions. How were public institutions responding to the needs of Indian families off the reservations? How much do health and welfare workers and administrators in public agencies know about urban Indian families and their needs or, for that matter, what to do about those needs? How much input has the Indian community into the policies and practices of the agencies mandated to serve them?

The Rationale

After careful preliminary work and pilot studies, Native American researchers conducted participant-observation of agencies in operation and survey interviews with agency personnel. The 109 agency personnel interviewed in a random sample ranged from top administrators, through public relations or community affairs workers and middle-range supervisors, to line workers.

It was a new approach to learn about consumer-based evaluation of educational and social services matched against agency workers' evaluation of their services to those clients. Primarily, the investigation was planned to analyze data systematically around questions specifically directed at children's problems:

1. How are Indian children perceived by various city agencies, i.e., social change agencies such as public schools and churches; the social support agencies, those involved in welfare, housing, employment, and health; and the social control agencies, among them the courts, law enforcement agencies, and youth services? An example is the school's perception of the urban Indian child as apathetic, psychologically damaged, and in need of psychiatric treatment, or stupid and hardly worth the effort of a teacher in an already crowded classroom. The same child may be viewed by welfare workers as needing special schooling because of frequent changes of residence or the different quality of schools attended. Other agencies may see the child and his family as a problem for the truant officer. Each perception may be partially right for some children some of the time, yet miss the mark. The apathy may stem from a child's sense of loss and mourning over leaving family members or the hogan of the grandmother or from a failure to understand and appreciate a competitive, self-oriented value system. The appearance of stupidity may indeed be due to differences in school systems, language, and culture (and standardized tests). The resulting alienation may, eventually, lead to problems with the juvenile authorities.
2. How are Indian children served by these agencies? There was concern that no special services had been designed for this subgroup, chiefly because many Indian children have been erroneously classified as Spanish—American, Asian, or Samoan.
3. How do the various social institutions (Federal, state, and local, both public and private, i.e., agencies, foundations, and churches) set policy and carry out their work with Indian children? Since it was known that foundations had shown concern for minority group needs, the question was whether they had any particular policy regarding Indian children. The researchers wanted to learn, also, whether public schools knew of and used Johnson-O'Malley funds allotted to meet the special needs of Indian children. In addition, they wanted to know how the social institutions could use the completed survey results.
4. What recourse is possible for Indian children who have not been adequately served? To the uninitiated, the confusion

in policy and responsibility is staggering. In some cases, there are special rights and programs, legislatively mandated, which should be available to Indian children; a study by the NAACP found, however, that available special school funds had been denied to Indian children in many ways. Further, although Indians are specifically excluded by Treaty and Federal laws from the school "desegregation" Supreme Court decision in order to carry on the Indian boarding school system, an Indian cultural-based day care program was denied funding because it would appear to discriminate against other racial groups. The Native American Research Group investigation hoped to outline potential reform for such problems.

5. What are the hiring policies regarding Indian staff to serve Indian children? The Research Group was curious to know the affirmative action policies of the agencies involved, Federal, State, and local. They were especially interested in using Indian workers in organizations with relatively large Indian client populations. Such an analysis, they hoped, could lead to more extensive recruitment and training programs of Native Americans and of in-service training programs of non-Indians who serve Indian children.
6. What mental health services are available, how are they used, and how effective are they for the Indian child in the urban area? The two-culture tug within an urban Indian child pulls him in opposite directions. He may yearn for the old ways but see advantages to himself in adopting the new. The "generation gap" in the white world is dwarfed by the gap between the reservation-bred parents and the street-wise peers of young urban Indians. Alcohol, drugs, glue-sniffing become common crutches for many of these frightened kids, most of whom are not seen by community mental health agencies or psychiatrists until they are referred by a social control agency, usually the juvenile court.

The Interviews: Agency Staff

The researchers presented three vignettes depicting typical problems of the young Indian in the city and asked how each agency individual interviewed would handle them. One vignette went like this:

A 12-year-old Indian girl is five months pregnant, walks into your office and tells you she needs your help. She tells you she has not had any food in three days. She hasn't seen her parents in a long time and is afraid to tell them she is pregnant. She tells you her parents have disowned her and really don't care what she does. She's been living with her boyfriend, but now he's left her and she doesn't have a place to stay.

What can you do for her?

When presented with this or one of the other hypothetical cases, about three-fourths of those interviewed wanted to refer the Indian case elsewhere, almost half to a police or law enforcement agency. Most of them talked about the "Indian problem" and seemed convinced that either the BIA or the police were the proper referrals. Replies ranging from ultra-bureaucratic to warm and personal were coded by content analysis. Results revealed that 40 percent would deliver service of some sort and take the basic responsibility.

Title XX of the Social Security Act mandates that the Public Welfare Department assume responsiblity for this kind of case. Yet 78 percent of the respondents from a public welfare agency indicated that they would refer the pregnant girl to another agency and 44 percent of those said they would call in the juvenile court authorities. According to the researchers, this pattern of responses was typical; Indian clients were often referred elsewhere even when they came to the proper agency. About 35 percent of the personnel in agencies which would properly deal with Indian clients indicated their belief that the BIA covers all types of social services and benefits for American Indians, a serious misconception but perhaps a partial explanation for their reluctance to give, and thus "duplicate," services.

The Interviews: The Urban Indians

The Native American researchers are aware of problems faced by agency employees and social workers in dealing with their Indian clients. Miller's account reveals this aspect that could be comic were it not for the wasteful, damaging mutual frustrations: "It's just amazing, the kinds of misunderstanding that arise between social workers and their Indian clients.

Simple things, like you don't look people in the eye. The social worker says, 'I can't communicate with that person. Why he won't even look at me.' Well, Indians don't look at other people. It's a different style. If you're with an Indian group, you don't look people in the eye. We think it's very impolite—it's almost like an insult, as if to say, 'What's the matter, don't you trust me? Why are you staring?'"

Ron amplified this: "In a lot of cases, the Indians are not used to the questions that are being asked, even though they are not real personal—maybe 'Where do you live? Are other people living in your house?' Sometimes they go to these agencies to be taken care of, then just sit there without talking about it. It takes somebody with expertise to sit down in a quiet way and say, 'Is there something we can do for you?' and not worry if there is no response or if the clients get up and walk away, then come back and wait. I've seen people who aren't aware of these subtleties start squirming around and really getting nervous while the other person is just sitting there waiting. The worker will just ask more questions, become more frantic, if he's not familiar with the culture."

To which Dorothy Miller, laughing, added, "Can you imagine what that does to our interviewing style? One doesn't walk in and just say, 'Good morning, would you please answer the following ten questions?'"

An empathic interview approach, more easily accomplished by same-culture interviewers, would do much to eliminate the difficulties—some subtle, some obvious—that prevent effective service by agencies mandated and funded to help. Plainly, mutual understanding and tolerance are needed by both provider and consumer.

The Questions

The Family Interview, a form sheet filled out by the researchers for each family, listed tribe and ID number for matching with previous interviews. The first question was designed to renew the interest and confidence built during the first study: "We talked with you nearly two years ago, and since that time a lot has happened. What are some of the good things that have happened to you and your family since then?" was followed by "And what sorts of things have happened that have been trouble for you and your family?"

Next came inquiries about residence, unemployment, disability and Social Security insurance, AFDC, Medi-Cal, and so on. The Indian respondents could indicate problems in getting public assistance—transportation, paperwork, refusal, or other, and where and with whom there were special difficulties. In regard to health treatments, there was a note reminding each interviewer to add: "Did you know that the Urban Indian Health Board Clinic in San Francisco can provide transportation to and from the clinic, etc." After this came questions about legal problems. Interviewers also offered to make job inquiries on behalf of the respondents.

Questions about the children of these families followed: "Who do you prefer to take care of your children now?" "What kind of day care center do you prefer?" "Looking back, can you see the difference between the school you attended and the school your child goes to? What are some of those differences?" "How is your child doing in school these days?" How does he get there, is it far from home, does he come right home from school, and so on the questions continued, into such problem areas as subjects studied, authority figures, and need for a tutorial program.

The researchers found pluses and minuses. As Dr. Miller said later, "Our children are having such a tough time. I think our longitudinal studies are going to be very important for us to look at what's happening as they enter the school system. We're having a hard time getting the children through high school. The drop-out rate is very high. We're having a lot ot teenage pregnancies and the high cost of deterioration is phenomenal." (In averaging out responses to their hypothetical cases, it should be added, the researchers found school personnel somewhat more prone to offer direct aid than were personnel in other agencies.)

Findings, Feedback, and the Future

The Native American researchers reported finding no Indian workers in their random sampling of agency workers in the Bay Area cities, although preliminary inquiries had revealed that over 200 agencies in at least 20 different fields of urban service are concerned with Native American populations in the Bay Area.

The Final Report suggests that a necessary first step is to develop training and recruitment programs to bring Native Americans and social services together. To cope with the unique problems of urban Indians, Title XX funds should be spent for staff training.

Countering the boredom, hostility, or "institutional racism" perceived in the reception and replies given by some agency people, 60 percent of those interviewed asked the Native American researchers to advise them in an on-the-site training session after the interview. Over one-fourth of the respondents asked the Native American researcher to return to speak to the agency staff about urban Indian situations. Finally, two-thirds of the subjects interviewed asked the Native American research staff to provide the names and functions of Indian organizations which could be of benefit to the American Indian client.

As a result of the "feedback loop," as they called it, the researchers were able to give immediate assistance and consultation to both "sides," agency and Indian. Some of the neighborhood Indian people are becoming involved in helping to set up programs or youth drop-in centers, and a few are seeking paraprofessional training and status.

During their first study, the team realized that many children were being placed "outside" in the community. Impetus from this research led the California Indian Nurses Association to develop an Indian social agency in Oakland. This Child Resource Center, the first of its kind, provides child care, child placement, and other support services for Indian families to keep them from being broken up.

The Native American Research Group has been called in to help set up training programs and advise in a variety of settings—in health clinics in San Francisco, in nurses aide programs, or at the OEO-established Friendship House in Oakland. Midway during this second study, the team developed subsidiary surveys as particular aspects of a problem were revealed: among them, a study of the welfare program's intake procedure to help Indian families through a process they view as cumbersome and insensitive; a survey of attendance and school problems experienced by Indian students in the Oakland School District; a study of the Indian Drop-In Center, determining additional program needs which might encourage young Indians to remain in or return to school; an evaluation study of the Indian pre-school; and background research on projects sponsored by the California Coalition of Indian Controlled Education and the Native American Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council.

They are pleased to have been asked to aid in research-related work for the Tribal Leaders, who have called the staff for help in setting up evaluation studies. And as with the first study, young Native American researchers have benefited both as scholars and as helpers, the highest calling of their people.

THE THIRD STUDY: URBAN INDIAN CHILDREN: FIVE YEARS LATER (1972-1977)

Much of the cultural life is still there, there in the way that the water is there for the fish.

The purpose of this study was to follow the 120 families, wherever they might be, using the original baseline data and obtaining new data on their continuing survival strategies and mode of adaptation. The Native American Research Group was especially interested to find out how well their biculturation adaptation hypothesis was holding up. They believe that a longitudinal study of this magnitude will provide useful information for policymakers and program planners and, even more important, will add to knowledge about the socialization and adaptation processes of the Indian families in transition.

The Modes of Adaptation

Walter Carlin, the Sioux member of the original Native American research team, drew up a model of the kinds of individual adaptation to social situations that are possible for Native Americans in the predominantly white society. His model, taken from social theorist Robert Merton's "Modes of Adaptation Based on Acceptance or Rejection of a Culture's Means and Ends," differs from Merton's largely because Carlin added the bicultural perspective. In both models, "ends" refers to culture's goals and "means" to the institutionalized ways available to attain those goals. Carlin's "Partial Bicultural Model of Modes of Adaptation Possible for Native Americans" contains two conflicting sets of cultural means and ends, the Indian and the white, from which to choose in adapting to or rejecting the dominant culture.

Many modes of adaptation—including traditional, bicultural, transitional, opportunist, assimilated, anomic, marginal, reclusive, innovative, rebellious, and mentally ill—were considered in relation to each set of means and ends. The modes of adaptation were then classified into four major groups: Traditional, in which the person clings to Indian values and behaviors; Transitional, where the individual adapts to white means and ends and leaves traditional values and behavior behind; Bicultural, in which the person is able to hold onto Indian values and means and is also able to adapt to white ends without considering them the primary value structure; and Marginal, whose individuals are anomic in both worlds, with ends and means neither Indian nor white.

Assignment of the Families

From information gathered in the first study, the research team developed an empirical classification for each of the 120 families and focal children, scoring each informant as to the presence or absence of the adaptation indicators—white ends, white means, Indian ends, Indian means. Next, they computerized the scores and formed a total scale score. Each family was then empirically assigned to one of the major bicultural types: Bicultural, 28; Traditional, 26; Transitional, 47; and Marginal, 19.

The Bicultural Family

Almost one-fourth of the families in the study can be considered Bicultural. They have a sense of "harmony," having retained the use of their native language and the practice of many of their beliefs while "making it" in the city. Their children have been reared to respect others and understand the ways of their people. They value education, have at least a high school diploma, earn their living, and have a decent standard of living. The children know something of both their worlds, since they attend public school but are sent back to the reservation for the summer.

The investigators hypothesized that, over the five-year period, this group would make the best social and psychological adjustment to the city.

The Traditional Family

The Traditional, 22 percent of those in this study, know and use their native tongue, practice "Indian ways," and have close relationships with other Indian families who also live much as they did on the reservation. In three-quarters of these families, the mothers are at home and unemployed, 92 percent are married to Indians, over two-thirds were educated in BIA or mission boarding schools, and 20 percent would prefer to send their children "back home" to school. Some 40 percent of the children do not report liking school, possibly because education is important to only one-third of these mothers. Most of the children spend their summers on the reservation. Most of the husbands are in job training or employed in a blue-collar job. The families appear to share a close, supportive family life although many are impoverished financially.

The hypothesis for this Traditional family group is that they will make only a marginal adjustment to the city but that the psychological damage to the children will be minimal. The researchers feel, also, that some of these families will "go home" if life in the city gets tougher and that some of their children will soon be making the choice between their families' value structure and that of their peer group. Some of the families will veer toward the Bicultural and some toward the Transitional in the next few years.

The Transitional Family

Forty-seven families, over one-third of the 120, are judged to be Transitional, to be moving toward the adoption of white means and ends, letting their Indian language and values, means and ends, slip away. The mothers neither speak their native tongue nor try to teach "Indian ways" to their children; only one-third send their children "home" in the summer; two-thirds of the mothers are employed outside their homes as clerks, domestics, or secretaries. Over half of the homes have no father; one-fourth of the fathers are non-Indian; all fathers are employed in factories or trades or with the school system or government. About 60 percent, in fact, came to the city "on their own," with no assistance from the BIA.

According to the hypothesis, these families are most likely to become assimilated in the city, to move into the white lower class, and to attempt to "become white." The families may earn adequate livings, but, according to the assumptions of the investigators, the children will face identity crises and lowered self-esteem and will probably adopt neurotic defenses over time.

The Marginal Family

Sixteen percent of the families are Marginal; they have lost their native language and show no evidence of having known "Indian ways," or "white ways" either, seeming to be maladapted in both. Nearly one-half are on public welfare and one-third have no father at home. This is the highest school dropout group—one-fourth of the children no longer attend school, only 11 percent of the mothers having felt that the children's education was important. Only one-fourth send their children to the reservations to renew family and tribal ties.

For this group, the hypothesis is that they will have the greatest amount of social and psychological difficulty over the next few years and will suffer most from the impact of urbanization.

The Next Step

The original assignment as to type of adaptation becomes the independent variable for purposes of testing the validity of the hypotheses. The assumption is that many will change, veering either toward or away from their central value orientation. The intervening variables are the experiences of these families over the 5-year period—what good things and what bad things have happened to them? The dependent variable, or outcome, is derived from the use of a series of scales, measurements, and indicators of the social and psychological situation of each child with relation to those of his family.

According to their hypotheses, expectations were that Bicultural families would score high on the Social Adjustment Scale and low on Psychiatric and Alcoholism Scales; Traditional, low on both Scales; Transitional, high on Social Adjustment and even higher on the Psychiatric and Alcoholism Scales; and Marginal, low on the first and high on the second.

Some Interim Results

By August 1977, the researchers had located and reinterviewed 82 of the original 120 families in the Bay Area. They found out that 19 had moved back to the reservation, 6 had moved to another urban area, 2 were unavailable because their parents were ill, 6 could not be located, and 5 refused to be interviewed at that time.

When the families were asked about the "good things" that had happened, their answers were: nothing good, 23; better location, 4; social activities, 9; improved education, 14; improved marital, family ties, 16; and financial improvement, 16. After four years, then, these urban Indian families are still making only marginally successful adaptation.

As to the "bad things," 16 reported "no particular bad things," and other replies were: job disability, 2; divorce, separation, 9; poor health, 9; death, accident, 10; marital, family problems, 12; and financial problems, most of them long-standing, 24.

The people are still interested, still convinced of the importance of what the researchers are finding, and still cleaning up their homes and their children and dressing in their best as a mark of respect to these Native Americans who are finding out about them, their needs, and their aspirations.

By early 1979, most of the families had been traced. About 40 percent of the families have returned to the reservation. Of these, approximately one-third may be considered Marginal. About one-third might be called "Residuals," who went back because they just don't like the city—as Dorothy Miller put it, "They returned in neither triumph or disaster." It is possible that some of their children will go back to the city and adjust happily there.

The Study Group is especially proud to report on the last third of those who returned. They have gone back better educated, more sophisticated, and ready to take their place in leadership and skilled roles in the tribal program. They have made such a complete bicultural adaptation that they can move in and out of either setting, either world. One couple, for instance, is composed of a wife who teaches in the tribal school and a husband who is using his CPA to aid the tribe.

From their preliminary findings, the Native American Research Group is assured of the validity of the Bicultural hypothesis. For one thing, the Transitional and Traditional families seem to be merging largely into the Bicultural group. And those who were deemed Marginal are still transient to both worlds, the city and the reservation.

There is some thought of changing the unit of analysis from family and "focal child" to that of the children themselves, who, incidentally, are doing better in school adjustment than they appeared to be several years ago. Both the focal children and their siblings will be of interest. What choices will they make? Will their choices differ from their parents'? Miller thinks generational swings will be visible as some of these children begin their own families in the near future, just as major swings from generation to generation have usually occurred among immigrant groups to the United States.

"Tragic in the Abstract, Happy in the Concrete"

When asked what she meant by referring to the people of the studies in this way, Miller tried to explain: "The whole relocation program, it seems to me, is a powerful social change phenomenon, tragic because it provides such a cultural gulf between the Indian people in the city and on the reservation. I think we can foresee some of the consequences of this mass emigration to the city, but I think we are faced with a lot of unintended consequences that we hadn't expected—to that extent there are tragic overtones.

"And yet these people are emotionally sturdy. I'm always amazed at how they can survive all kinds of things. Most people, when they look at the Native American in the city, talk about the alcoholism, the poverty, and so on. That's one perspective, but that doesn't tell the story, which is really much more—how the family maintain themselves, keeping a psychological richness that you just feel when you're with the people in their homes. So much of the cultural life is still there, there in the way that the water is there for the fish. It's part of them and it *is* their life."

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